# The Outlook

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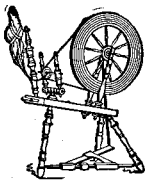

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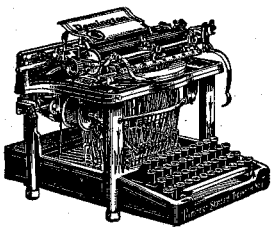

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# The Outlook

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1904


**Three Important Labor Events**

Three important events in the history of organized labor deserve consideration: the second Annual Convention of the Citizens' Industrial Association, held in New York; the twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Federation of Labor, held in San Francisco; and the decision of the Court of Appeals of New York that the eight-hour law of that State is unconstitutional. The aims of the Citizens' Industrial Association were defined in resolutions adopted at the meeting: (1) The open shop; (2) freedom in the employment of apprentices; (3) no limitation on hours of labor except by mutual agreement; (4) the enforcement of the laws. A vigorous address was made against the boycott by the agent of the Anti-Boycott Association, but the Association, we believe, passed no resolutions on that subject. The emphasis of the meeting appears to have been laid on the open shop, and we judge that the endeavors of the Association are concentrated at present on establishing this as a recognized principle in America. Mr. Parry, the President, declared that within a year a thousand establishments have abandoned the union or closed shop policy, and have opened their doors to non-union workmen. The fact that his figures were an even thousand indicates that they were the result of an estimate rather than of a careful census.

❀

**The Eight-Hour Law**

The decision of the Court of Appeals that the eight-hour labor law of New York State is unconstitutional was in so far a reinforcement of one of the demands of the Citizens' Association. The eight-hour law makes it a misdemeanor for any one contracting with a State or municipal corporation to require more than eight hours' work for a day's labor. The decision of the Court of Appeals is that this law is unconstitutional, in that it deprives an individual of property without due process of law. We have only the newspaper report of the decision before us, and are therefore unable to state how the Court reconciled it with the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Atkins *versus* Kansas. In that case the Supreme Court declined to pass on the question whether a law regulating the hours of labor between private employers and their employees would be a violation of the Constitution, but it held broadly that every municipality is a creature of the State and subject to such limitations as the State chooses to impose, and that the State has an unqualified right to determine, through its Legislature, what kind of contracts may be made by any of its servants, or by any of its municipalities, or by any one on their behalf. The language of the Supreme Court is as follows:

> We can imagine no possible ground to dispute the power of the State to declare that no one undertaking work *for it or for one of its municipal agencies* [the italics are those of the Court] should permit or require an employee on such work to labor in excess of eight hours each day, and to inflict punishment upon those who are embraced by such regulations and yet disregard them. It cannot be deemed a part of the liberty of any contractor that *he* be allowed to do public work in any mode he may choose to adopt, without regard to the wishes of the State. On the contrary, it belongs to the State, as the guardian and trustee for its people, and having control of its affairs, to prescribe the conditions upon which it will permit public work to be done on its behalf, or on behalf of its municipalities.

On the face of the newspaper report before us it appears very much as though the Court of Appeals of New York State had reversed the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. We wish that it might be possible, but we fear it is not, to take this case to that Supreme



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Court and see whether it can discover any difference between the Kansas and the New York cases to justify the apparent difference in the decisions of the Court of Appeals of New York and the Supreme Court of the United States.

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**The Federation of Labor**

The twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor afforded both a picturesque and a significant illustration of the democracy of industry. The sessions were held in a hall furnished with a number of long rows of board tables at which the several hundred new delegates sat. The room was liberally decorated with bunting, and at the back of the stage hung a large American flag and the British ensign, symbols of the international character of the movement. Between these was placed a very large and very poor oil painting of Samuel Gompers, who presided at all sessions with firmness and ability. No longer a young man, and certainly no great orator, he has a directness and polish of speech and a sincerity of manner which have long served to maintain him in a very difficult position. Tobacco smoke filled the hall; the gallery was always occupied with an attentive and sometimes unduly demonstrative assemblage of onlookers, but order was well maintained and few indecorous acts were to be observed. The delegates were, of course, the picked representatives of labor, and it was with a good deal of interest that one observed their temper and abilities. There were few who exhibited training in the oratory of the schools, but there were many who surpassed the ordinary stump speaker in capacity and evident familiarity with public speaking. This is easily accounted for, because the labor union is the workingman's lyceum, and all had fought their way up through their individual unions. The general spirit of most was earnestness; a desire to get at the heart of the question under discussion and to set it forth as directly as possible. Considerable acrimony was exhibited at times, but few were guilty of distinctly unparliamentary acts. A vast amount of business was disposed of, and the Convention showed its ability to handle it in a businesslike manner. Printed reports of the preceding day's session were issued each morning; debate was limited, and committee work well apportioned.

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**The Spirit of the Convention**

The Federation of Labor represents a membership of over a million and a half of wage-earners, gained in the last twenty years. The spirit of the Convention was decidedly conservative. A small but aggressive minority, Socialistic in spirit and revolutionary in its aims, desires to commit the organization to an indorsement of the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution. The ineffectiveness of this minority in this Convention is illustrated by the fact that Mr. Samuel Gompers was re-elected President with only one dissenting vote. The Federation of Labor, as its title indicates, is not a labor union, but a Federation of labor unions, and its aim is not the overthrow of the present industrial order, but such an administration of that order as will give to the workingmen better protection of what they regard as their rights, and a larger share in the combined profits of labor and capital. Specifically, it endeavors to arbitrate the never-ending disputes which are constantly arising between the various unions; to adjust labor difficulties which threaten a strike; and, if adjustment is impossible and the strike is finally approved, to lend the strikers moral and financial assistance; to build up labor unions, by means of organizers acting under the authority of the executive board; to publish an official organ representing the interests of the labor unions; and to maintain a lobby at Washington, and at other legislatures on occasion, to watch labor legislation and to secure the enactment of certain specific measures which the Federation has indorsed—namely, an anti-injunction law, an eight-hour law (referring to Government work), the adoption of the initiative and referendum, the prohibition of convict labor in competition with free labor, and the enactment of more rigid Chinese exclusion laws. Besides this the lobby has opposed the enactment of

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laws thought to be inimical to labor, such as compulsory arbitration, compulsory union-incorporation, etc. Without committing The Outlook to all the principles advocated by the Federation of Labor, we believe this organization to be a healthful and conservative one, and a valuable protection against the perils of the Socialistic movement, toward which radical labor agitators consciously, and reactionary capitalistic employers unconsciously, are combining to drive the industrial forces of America, so far without success.

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**Secretary Taft's Report**

The annual report of the Secretary of War, after a formal enumeration of the figures showing the army's strength (3,744 officers and 56,439 men), and a brief report of the fighting in the Philippines with Moros, notes the decided improvement in the condition of the men due to increased attention to sanitary matters, and boldly asserts that "the troops of the United States are the best fed, best clothed, and best sheltered troops in the world." This is eminently welcome information, yet Dr. Seaman's remarks quoted in The Outlook last week indicate that still further attention to the study of army sanitation is needed if, in the event of war, our army is to be managed in this respect with science and skill equal to that shown by Japan. Mr. Taft reports that seacoast fortification is in a fairly satisfactory stage of progress; urges the importance of a defense system for the harbors of Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines; points to the success and extent of the Manassas maneuvers as evidence of the progress in bringing regulars and militia to work together and of the improvement in militia training; and shows that less money than last year is asked for from Congress for the military establishment proper, although an increase of about three millions is desired for fortifications and permanent plant. The part of the report relating to the Philippines will naturally excite special attention, as Mr. Taft's experience makes him the highest authority on that topic. Mr. Taft explains the financial and industrial situation in the Philippines and shows that a prime need of the islands is the building of railways and that one explanation of the slowness of development is that the present railroad mileage is ridiculously small. Mr. Taft advocates the plan that the Government guarantee the income on the bonds for railway construction for not over thirty years at not over five per cent. He points out that when the Government aided the Pacific railroads it not only issued bonds but conveyed enormous tracts of land, and that this method was open to objections not applicable to that proposed in the Philippines. Again Mr. Taft renews the recommendation made by Secretary Root, by President McKinley, and by President Roosevelt, that there should be a substantial reduction in the present tariff on Philippine products imported into the United States. This is so obviously a matter of simple justice and fairness that it seems incredible that Congress can longer evade recognizing its duty in the premises. The recommendations made by Mr. Taft for changes in the tariff are that all products of the Philippines except tobacco and sugar be admitted into the United States duty free and that upon all importations of sugar and tobacco the duty should be equal to twenty-five per cent. of that imposed by the Dingley Law. The progress of the negotiations for settling the purchase of the friars' lands and the excellent results from employing four thousand Filipinos as scouts are noted with satisfaction.

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**Agricultural Prosperity**

Secretary Wilson's annual report reflects pleasantly the prosperous condition of American farmers. The total value of farm products (less some crops fed to stock) is placed for 1904 at $4,900,000,000. This is nearly ten per cent. above that of the year before and over thirty-one per cent. above that for 1899. To make this enormous sum capable of realization, Mr. Wilson points out that the farmers of this country have in two years produced wealth exceeding the output of all the gold mines of the entire world since Columbus discovered America. He adds that this year's product

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is more than six times the amount of the capital stock of all National banks; that it lacks but three-fourths of a billion dollars of the value of the manufactures of 1900, less the cost of materials used; and that it is three times the gross earnings from the operations of the railways, and four times the value of all minerals produced in this country. The corn crop alone yielded many millions more than would be needed to pay off the National debt; the cotton crop is worth $600,000,000; the wheat crop, to be sure, was comparatively small—the lowest in four years—but its aggregate is still huge; horses and mules show an increase, and in total value amount to $1,354,000,000; while even the humble hens lay enough eggs in a single month to pay the year's interest on the National debt, and in the year produce one and two-thirds billions of eggs! Farm land values have increased in the last four years about two billion dollars. Such facts and figures as these strikingly illustrate the supreme importance of agriculture as an industry, and make it clear that in legislating for the industrial interests of the country the farmer should never be forgotten or undervalued. The Department of Agriculture is doing a fine and increasingly extensive work in aiding and educating the farmer.

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**Guessing Contests and Gambling**

It is estimated that probably a million people have submitted guesses at the actual attendance during the St. Louis World's Fair in competition for prizes aggregating $85,000 offered by the World's Fair Contest Company. As twenty-five cents was charged for each guess, the Company will have received $250,000, if the estimate is correct, and it is made by Attorney-General Moody in a recent opinion on the legality of "guessing contests," written by the President's direction and at the request of the Post-Office Department. We select a single instance to illustrate the extent of this particular form of lottery—for such contests are now held to be lotteries by the Post-Office Department under the Attorney-General's opinion. This is only one of many contests relating to the World's Fair carried on, some by newspapers, some by private concerns; while the total of the popular vote in the Presidential election has been equally exploited for guessing purposes. Mr. Moody believes that, while nominally the element of calculation and judgment enters into these contests, practically "the conclusion is irresistible that it is largely a matter of chance which competitor will submit the nearest correct estimate. The estimates cannot be predicated upon natural and fixed laws, since the total number of admissions may be affected by many conditions over which the participants in this scheme have no control and cannot possibly foresee." He adds, referring to two particular typical cases submitted to him: "Neither of these contests is a 'legitimate business enterprise.' In each, thousands invest small sums in the hope and expectation that luck will enable them to win large returns. A comparatively small percentage of the participants will realize their expectations, and thousands will get nothing. They are in effect lotteries under the guise of 'guessing contests.'" A previous ruling of the Department allowing such contests mail privileges has been accordingly rescinded, and the post-office authorities will scrutinize each of these contests on its own merits, and where the lottery element is evident will stamp the scheme as fraudulent and deny mailing privileges. This seems to The Outlook good law, as it certainly is good sense.

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**An Amicable Agreement with Panama**

The visit of Secretary Taft to Panama has resulted in a prompt and satisfactory adjustment of the matters which had been disturbing some of the people of the Republic of Panama. All these matters related to possible trade and tariff friction between the Republic and the Canal zone governed by the United States. The agreement reached provides that Panama shall collect duties under her own laws on all goods (except supplies for canal construction and goods in transit), whether they are landed at the two Canal ports,

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Ançon and Cristobal, or at Panama ports. The United States tariff is not to be enforced at the ports of the zone. On the other hand, Panama is to reduce her present tariff from fifteen to ten per cent. *ad valorem*, except, if she chooses, on wine, liquors, tobacco, and opium, and to reduce her port charges and fees to sixty per cent. of the present rate. Thus between the Canal zone and Panama absolute free trade will prevail, and as only one country will collect duties, the danger of clash or friction is obviated. The adoption of a gold standard by Panama removes another possible source of troublesome business inconveniences. Complete jurisdiction is granted to the United States in the harbors of Colon and Panama as to sanitation and quarantine regulations. Panama reduces her rate of postage to two cents, and is to furnish all stamps in the Republic and in the Canal zone. The zone authorities are to purchase stamps from Panama at forty per cent. of their face value.

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**A Relic of Barbarism**

Governor Vardaman, of Mississippi, is important chiefly as he evokes criticism of the things he stands for and the spirit he expresses from his own section. His appointments as Governor are said to have been in the main unusually good; he is not, as was reported, an uncompromising opponent of negro education; if he has vetoed appropriations for negro schools, he has also vetoed appropriations for white schools. So much ought to be said of him even by his critics. But he shockingly misrepresents the South. His manners and speech belong to the barbaric stage, not to the stage of civilized life and especially to a section which has prided itself upon possessing the chivalric qualities, courtesy, and a nice sense of honor. President Francis, of the St. Louis Exposition, who represents in an unusual degree all these latter qualities, telegraphed Governor Vardaman that President Roosevelt had visited and greatly admired the Mississippi building during his inspection of the Fair. This courtesy was acknowledged by Governor Vardaman in a reply which contained the following paragraph:

> It is, of course, gratifying to the people of Mississippi to know that they have done one thing that the present President of the United States approves. Doubtless the President's admiration of the Mississippi Building is due to his admiration of Jefferson Davis, of whose last home it is a replica.

What strikes the most casual reader of this paragraph is its irrelevancy. The reference to Mr. Davis and to the President's approval of Mississippi was, so to speak, dragged in by the heels; and what would have been, between gentlemen, however much they might have differed in political opinion, an occasion for an exchange of courtesies, was made by Governor Vardaman the occasion for a needless discourtesy. What Governor Vardaman says is, however, of slight importance in itself; and this incident would not have been reported by The Outlook but for the fact that it has evoked from Mississippi and different parts of the South the sharpest criticism and the most definite disavowal. Several Southern organizations have telegraphed to President Francis their disapprobation, and have made for Governor Vardaman the apology which he probably will not have the good sense to make for himself. Governor Vardaman misrepresents the State of Mississippi and the entire South. He is a provincial politician, who has not only failed to grasp the National idea, but who has not even grasped the sectional idea, and fails to measure the South as completely as he fails to measure the Nation. Such men are of importance now, in the growing mutual understanding and cooperation between the sections, simply as registering the ancient points of ignorance from which the whole country has long since been moved away.

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**An Unjust Judge Removed**

The recently announced decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of this State by which Judge Herman Bolte is removed as Justice of the Second District Municipal Court has a very much wider interest and significance than in its mere legal or local aspect. The New York City Municipal Courts,

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while simple in their operations, and while they deal only with simple cases, play really a very important part in our judicial and social system. The people affected by them are the very poorest class—those who are least able to protest against unfair litigation or to oppose, either by the expenditure of time or money, injustice done to them by the operation of the law. Moreover, the foreigner gets his first impression of our civilization and methods of government from those branches with which he comes in daily contact. For this reason our police and municipal courts ought to be administered by a very high type of judges. Unfortunately, there is good reason for believing that in many instances the contrary is the fact. About a year and a half ago the East Side Civic Club decided that there were many abuses existing in the district courts of the East Side, and they appointed a small committee with power to investigate the situation. This committee, of which Mr. F. M. Stein was chairman, secured the services of Mr. Louis Lande, a member of the Civic Club, and formerly an assistant corporation counsel of the city. As a result of the painstaking investigation of this committee, covering a period of several months, charges were brought against Judge Bolte, which were referred to a referee, who finally recommended the dismissal of Judge Bolte. It is this recommendation of the referee which has now been confirmed by the Appellate Court. One of the worst evils in this Court, as in many of the other courts, although there perhaps not so extreme, consisted of a system popularly known as the "attorney-generals" system. The attorney-generals, so called, were a number of lawyers who are personally very close to the judge, and in consequence won nearly all the cases given to them. As a result they monopolize a considerable portion of the practice in these courts. Their methods of winning were devious. If the case was so bad that a decision could not be given in their favor in any way from the facts, the favorite method was to secure adjournments day after day; and this sometimes amounted to twenty or thirty adjournments in all. The idea of this was to tire out the opponents and force a settlement. In addition to this there was found what seems to be collusion between the installment furniture dealers and some of the marshals, who through this were enabled to secure body executions and throw the poor debtors into jail.

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A Permanent Judicial Reform

The East Side Civic Club, as a result of its successful endeavors to rectify these abuses in this particular municipal court, believes that the next step should be a change of the law by which the district judges are elected. At the present time these district judges are elected in their own districts. The result is that in order to secure their election they must stand very well with their district leaders, and to do this there exists the usual interchange of favors. The gentlemen who have so patriotically and in such an admirable spirit accomplished the removal of the unjust Judge Bolte believe that the most desirable general remedy, and one which would raise the general standard of city courts, would be to elect municipal court judges at large, as is now done in the case of the judges of the Supreme Court. This is a sound and practical step. The very fact that the East Side Civic Club, an organization of the people, living by no means in the so-called brownstone district, saw the injustice to the people and the danger to the Government in the existence of such a judiciary official as Judge Bolte, indicates that the people at large want justice and honesty in the administration of the Government. The Outlook has often said, and is glad to say again, and hopes to say many times more, that the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy. Give the so-called common people—the men whose homes and families and children are of greater value to them than mere material property—an opportunity to register their will through the ballot-box regarding pure politics and honest administration of the Government, and we shall find fewer and fewer Boltes upon the judical bench, and more and more respect for law among the people.

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**Dummy Directors**

Last week the New York State Supreme Court handed down a decision in favor of the plaintiff in the case of certain stockholders of the American Malting Company against a director of the same. The defendant is held liable for about $1,400,000, the amount of dividends declared at meetings at which he was present. These dividends were declared in excess of net profits, that is, out of capital. Section 23 of the New York State Corporation Law provides that for dividends paid, except on surplus or net profits arising from the business, directors shall be jointly and severally liable. Section 60 of the same law extends its operation to foreign corporations. Though the American Malting Company was incorporated under the laws of New Jersey, it does not escape jurisdiction in New York State as to liability for unauthorized dividends. Similar actions are pending against the other six directors involved. The law excepts such directors as are absent from the directors' meeting or who register a protest against illegal dividends. Hence the sum above mentioned excludes the sum thus voted at a meeting at which the defendant was absent. As to this particular case, it is said that the American Malting Company's business is a good one and that the impaired capital has been almost entirely restored. In general, however, the result of the Supreme Court's decision will, we think, be twofold: (1) In New York State at least it will tend to restrain any impulse to declare dividends out of capital. (2) It will be a means of eventual deliverance from the evil of "dummy directors," though it may temporarily increase that evil. In companies of a more questionable character than the one mentioned, when, despite the Court's decision, unearned dividends are to be declared in order to save prestige, there will probably be a startling increase in the number of dummy directors, mere clerks of their wealthy principals or mere figureheads without fortune or responsibility. Under the circumstances as now established by the Court the wealthy principals will certainly wish to be absent. Emphasis will indubitably be given to the popular demand as to corporations, that there shall be no over-capitalization, no secret accounting, and no dummy directors.

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**The Fierce Struggle at Port Arthur**

The fort captured by the Japanese on Friday of last week, known as 203-Meter Hill, or Fort Namakoyama, derives its strategic importance not only from its height, but more especially from the fact that it commands the harbor of Port Arthur. If the Japanese can hold this position and can drag adequate artillery to the summit (both of which things the Russians affect to consider improbable), it is hard to see how the Russian war-ships in the harbor can escape destruction. Some of them are undoubtedly already incapable of putting to sea, but the Japanese think that others are only awaiting the approach of the Baltic squadron to attempt once more to run Togo's blockade. The supreme importance of preventing a union of Russia's naval forces after the Baltic ships reach the scene of war is emphasized by the fact that the Russian squadron under Admiral Rojesvensky is, on paper at least, nearly or quite the equal of that under Admiral Togo. No wonder, then, that the Japanese army under General Nogi, urged on by its home Government, fought its way, after two frustrated attempts, step by step, to the top of 203-Meter Hill. Their loss was admittedly terrible; it is numbered by thousands, but anything like an accurate estimate is not obtainable. An attempt to recapture the fort by the Russians was repelled, and a truce of six hours for the removal of the dead and wounded was arranged on Saturday. Reports from St. Petersburg after this Japanese success were at first despondent, and declared that General Stoessel's forces were expected to die fighting, and that the war-ships in the harbor would probably be sunk. Later on, however, it was pointed out that 203-Meter Hill is inferior in height to Golden Hill (the real citadel of Port Arthur) and to the Laotaishan promontory, which is on the other side of the harbor from Golden Hill, and may be

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the last point of retreat for the Russians. Moreover, 203-Meter Hill lies between this Laotaishan hill on its south and the formidable range of fortified hills to the north that includes the Itse and Antse forts, which the Japanese have again and again attacked in vain. It thus appears that the Russians still hold almost impregnable heights outlying from the central position on the Port Arthur promontory itself, and if their ammunition holds out and General Stoessel's heroic troops continue to fight as heretofore, the obstacles to the final capture of Port Arthur are still far from despicable. The armies near Mukden under Marshal Oyama and General Kuropatkin seem to be waiting, the one for the fall of Port Arthur and reinforcements from that direction, the other the coming of fresh forces from Russia by way of Harbin; desultory fighting occurs almost daily, but reports of the beginning of a general engagement are not confirmed.

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**Mr. George Kennan at Port Arthur**

Readers of The Outlook have undoubtedly noted that Mr. Kennan's series of articles from Japan have been interrupted for the past few weeks. The reason is a very interesting one. About the first of October Mr. Kennan left Tokyo for Port Arthur, and has now been for some weeks in close touch with the army of General Nogi, which is besieging the almost impregnable double group of fortifications known collectively as Port Arthur. The Japanese are putting forth every conceivable effort, with the most lavish sacrifice of life, to carry the place, and late advices from Tokyo again indicate that the fall of Port Arthur is there expected to take place very soon. When that event occurs, Mr. Kennan will, at the earliest possible moment, send to The Outlook an account founded on personal observation on the spot. At present it is impossible for him to send out letters for publication. A personal letter received at The Outlook office from Mr. Kennan, mailed October 27, is dated from "A Certain Place, Manchuria." In it Mr. Kennan says: "I am not allowed to send anything out from here except the briefest personal notes, but I am seeing everything and am allowed to go everywhere." He adds: "I am living in a Manchurian house, am walking from eight to twelve miles a day, and have been thus far in vigorous health. I am very glad I came here. I will write you fully as soon as a certain event occurs." What that event is may readily be inferred.

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**Terms of Peace**

Several months ago Mr. George Lynch, the well-known English war correspondent, summarized in The Outlook the terms of peace which Japan would be willing to accept, basing his summary on interviews with Japanese political leaders of the first rank. This outline of Japanese demands is, in general, remarkably well confirmed by the statement which has just been given out from the French Foreign Office. It seems that, as was rumored some time ago, Japan did, in fact, make a positive though informal approach to Russia through France; and the statement of a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies outlines the proposals thus tentatively put out. These conditions will strike most students of international relations as extraordinarily moderate. Briefly, they include the restoration of Manchuria to China by Russia, which would be merely the fulfillment at last of Russia's broken promises; the definite abandonment of Port Arthur and the land about it which the Russians have by concession held; the transfer to China of the railway from Harbin to Port Arthur, but with the retention by the Russians of the railway from Harbin to Vladivostok. Nothing whatever is said about the payment of an indemnity in money by Russia. An important condition, and one which will surprise many, is Japan's willingness to enter into an agreement with Russia to respect the independence of Korea, with the single condition attached that the Japanese may acquire land by purchase in Korea. It is well known that Russia up to the present time has shown no inclination whatever to discuss terms of peace, and it is not surprising that the effort made through France proved a complete failure. In

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more ways than one Russia has taken pains to let the Great Powers know that she was not willing to listen to any proposition for intervention. In this connection may be noted Russia's reply to Secretary Hay's recent circular-note to the Powers inviting them to convene in a second Hague Conference. As was to be expected, Russia takes great pains to show that she heartily approves of the general project of a second Peace Conference at The Hague, and welcomes the invitation from this country as an additional evidence that the American Government appreciates the first Conference, but she is unwilling to enter into such a proposed conference while the war with Japan is in progress. Russia, therefore, favors the postponement of the Congress until after the war shall be ended. It will be remembered that the favorable replies from the other Great Powers, while they express approval of the proposal, do not take up the question as to the precise time at which the Conference should be held, nor did Secretary Hay in his circular-letter suggest a date. The United States Government is thoroughly well pleased with the result of its proposition, as seen in the replies of the Powers, because they make certain that sooner or later a second Hague Congress will be held, and the United States will probably not attempt to press the immediate assembling of the Conference.

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**United Japan** Last week the Japanese Imperial Diet was opened by the Emperor in person with full ceremony, and in a formal address the Emperor announced his pleasure at Japan's increasingly amicable relations with the neutral Powers, his intention to submit a scheme for meeting war expenditures, and his delight in the victories of his armies and in the harmonious co-operation of his people. A carefully prepared statement of Japan's contentions and expectations was made public just before the Diet met by the Premier, Count Katsura. Among its more noteworthy utterances, in addition to a restatement of the causes of the war, the main points of which are familiar to our readers, is this moderate but illuminating outline of the military situation:

> The delay in the decisive result of our siege at Port Arthur gives Russia hope of being able to relieve the garrison, and for this purpose she resolved to empty her naval defense at home, while on land corps after corps has been mobilized and sent eastward. The military and naval plan of Russia seems to center in the relief of Port Arthur, and General Kuropatkin's southward advance, which resulted in his serious defeat, had the relief of the garrison as its sole object. The Russian Emperor's instructions to Kuropatkin not to retire beyond Mukden were designed to raise the gloom that had been hanging over the people of Russia since the defeat of the Russian arms at the battle of Liaoyang, and Kuropatkin assumed the aggressive perhaps against his own judgment. Everything seems to hinge on the fall of Port Arthur, but I do not console myself with the thought that the capture of that ill-fated fortress will bring the war to a speedy termination. Its capture will give occasion for renewed plans for warfare by Russia, and I am watching keenly for such new developments.

Count Katsura asserts eloquently that Japan is ready to sacrifice her last man and her last cent for national existence, and that nothing less is at stake. He says: "We have no war party and no peace party, as Russia has, but, on the contrary, our nation is one and united, with a determination to fight to the last extremity." In all its financial, political, and domestic affairs he declares Japan is in a satisfactory and united condition; practically there is no political party of opposition: "Before a great national problem our people unite, and friends and opponents join hands for the accomplishment of our national purposes. With the great problem of the war before them, the people of our nation have become as one man."

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**A Defense of Autocracy** Beyond the reception of a group of representatives of the zemstvos, reported in these columns last week, the Czar has given no intimation of his attitude as to the action of the conference or of his disposition of the memorial presented to him. The difficulties of his position have been pointed out more than once in these columns. To these obstacles must be added the intrinsic difficulty which surrounds any attempt to modify

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a system so thoroughly embedded in the habit and tradition of the Russian people. A very interesting interview with Prince Mestchersky, one of the foremost spokesmen of the autocracy, presents some of these difficulties and the method of solution which a man who believes in the system, but who thinks it needs reformation, regards as practicable. Prince Mestchersky holds that autocracy is vital to the progress and development of Russia, and that, although liberal reforms are necessary, they must be in harmony with the autocratic system. The question has often been asked, "Why not introduce a constitution in Russia?" said the Prince, "but one might as well ask an American or an Englishman, 'Why not introduce an autocracy into Great Britain or the United States?' for autocracy is as necessary for Russia as a constitution for Great Britain or the United States." Constitutional government is impossible in Russia because the vast majority of the people have not the slightest conception of its meaning and are entirely unprepared for the duties which it would impose upon them. In the judgment of the Prince there may be a hundred thousand Russians who want a constitution and who are urging movements in that direction, but there are one hundred and fifty millions who are absolutely without an opinion and voiceless. If a constitution were introduced at once, it could not survive, because it would not express the political life of the people, nor would it embody their ideas. Constitutional government for a nation which includes races like the Poles and those of the Baltic territory, who are more advanced and would soon aspire to Parliament, is out of the question. What Russia needs, the Prince declared, is not a constitution, but reforms, and these reforms are obtainable only through autocracy. A plan for reform was outlined in the Imperial manifesto of February last, but its carrying out was arrested by the assassination of Von Plehve. The fundamental idea of these reforms is to extend local government by the creation of small zemstvos, thus giving the Russian people the widest possible measure of local self-government. The project involved such a reorganization of the zemstvos as would secure the submission of local affairs to the constituency immediately interested, and of questions affecting provinces at large to a representative provincial council under the presidency of the governor. Local government having been established in this way, it was the intention of the Czar to reform the central administration by introducing Ministerial responsibility. The Council of the Ministry, which is now a perfunctory body, would then become active under the presidency of the sovereign, and the conflict between the different departments which has been so disastrous during the present war would be ended. The reforms would also include the introduction of representative members in the Council of the Empire, giving the people a voice in legislation; and the Senate would again discharge the function with which it was intrusted by Peter the Great, of controlling the administration of the law, and thus form a safeguard against arbitrariness on the part of the sovereign of the central Government. Prince Mestchersky declared that while bureaucracy is not free from reproach, the provincial zemstvos have also been assuming bureaucratic control over district zemstvos. The real business of reform, he said, rests with the Emperor and his Minister of the Interior.

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**The English Education Controversy**

The working of the Education Act in England begins to bring unpleasant consequences to churchmen who have hitherto profited by it. The London County Council, in which "progressives" have a majority, has availed itself, as other County Councils have been slow to do, of the authority conferred by the Act to require church schools supported by the public money to bring their buildings up to standard fitness for school uses. Failure to do this cuts off all claim upon the public treasury. The surveys now making in London indicate that about $750,000 will be required for this purpose from Anglican and Roman churchmen. The "passive resisters," who continue pay-

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ing fines and going to jail with stubborn constancy, now take grim satisfaction in this saddling of their antagonists with a grievous if not unbearable burden. In this move the London County Council is following the lead of the Welsh County Councils, who seem to have checkmated the Local Default Act passed last spring upon their refusal to enforce the law to which Wales is solidly opposed. While the Government still hesitates to proceed with a coercive policy, the Welsh plan of campaign to meet it, reported in The Outlook for September 3, is held in reserve. But meanwhile the legal screw has been applied to church school managers by requisitions for standardizing their buildings, amounting to some $150,000, hardly more than one-tenth of which sum they have been able to raise.

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**International Lectures**

The growing intimacy of relationship and breadth of intercourse between nations received picturesque illustration recently when Professor Barrett Wendell, of Harvard University, gave his first lecture at the Sorbonne before a large and brilliant audience, including representatives of the academic and literary circles in Paris, the American Ambassador, the President of the Arbitration Group of the French Parliament, and other well-known men, with a large attendance of the women of literary Paris. This is the first time in the history of the Sorbonne that a lecture in any language other than the French has been delivered under its auspices; and it is an interesting and significant fact that the first departure from this rigid academic tradition was made by an American dealing with American topics; for Mr. Wendell's lectures are to deal entirely with American affairs. In addition to the Sorbonne course he is also to visit the Universities or Écoles Normales of Lille, Caen, Bordeaux, Grenoble, Lyons, and Dijon. It is due to the enthusiastic love of Mr. James H. Hyde for the French language and French literature that the Alliance Française was organized in this country, and furnished the machinery for bringing over a number of distinguished French lecturers who have spoken before different universities. Professor Wendell will be the first of a number of American scholars and men of letters who will speak in France as French scholars and men of letters have spoken in America; and he has been described by the leading Parisian journals as "the ambassador of American literature to the University of Paris."

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**Closing of the World's Fair**

The interest in the World's Fair at St. Louis culminated in the last month, when it was visited by great crowds of people from all parts of the country and by the President of the United States, who received what may be called a continental welcome from a throng of people gathered from all sections of the United States. One of the most notable events of the season was the Thanksgiving exercises held in Festival Hall, which, by reason of its catholicity, interpreted the significance of the Exposition on the spiritual side. We are fortunately not unfamiliar with the spectacle of the ministers of different churches sitting together on the same platform and taking part in union exercises; but it is not often that on a National occasion men of such widely diverse convictions and representing organizations once bitterly antagonistic to one another unite in religious worship. The Archbishop of St. Louis, the Most Rev. John J. Glennon, presided, with President Francis on his right and the Rev. Dr. S. J. Niccolls, of the Second Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, on his left. The President's Thanksgiving proclamation was read by President Francis, Dr. Niccolls delivered the invocation, a hymn was sung by the chorus and the congregation, and a Thanksgiving prayer offered by Dr. Garrison, editor of the "Christian Evangelist." Addresses were made by ministers of several denominations. At the close of the address "America" was sung by the great congregation, and the Archbishop pronounced the benediction. Among the many evidences of the advance of humanity which visitors found on all sides at the Exposition noth-

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ing was more striking or cheering, and nothing perhaps registered a greater revolution, than the fellowship of these religious bodies in a common recognition of their common humanity and their common belief in the Fatherhood of God. Mr. Morley has classed together under a common disapprobation those who say, "After us the deluge," and those who say, "After us the millennium." The deluge never comes except as a result of flagrant disregard of the rights of others; the millennium will not come until all men cherish the interests of others; but such a service as that which may be said to have closed the Exposition at St. Louis is a notable landmark away from the deluge and on the way to the millennium.

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**The Union Seminary's Confessional Standpoint**

Last week it was erroneously reported that the Union Theological Seminary of New York City had discarded the Westminster Confession of Faith and had unanimously adopted a new creed. The facts are as follows. The Directors have for some time been discussing the propriety of falling back upon the original charter obligations of the Seminary as expressed in the preamble to its Constitution adopted in 1836, and in the Act of Incorporation passed by the Legislature in 1839, in reference to the qualifications of Directors and Professors, which they have a perfect legal right to do. These documents do not require, among the qualifications, a subscription to the Westminster Confession. That qualification was a later addition. Among their provisions are the following: The preamble to the Constitution says: "It is the design of the founders to furnish the means of a full and thorough education in all the subjects in the best theological seminaries in the United States, and also to embrace therewith a thorough knowledge of the standards of faith and discipline of the Presbyterian Church." The Act of Incorporation says: "Equal privileges of admission and instruction, with all the advantages of the institution, shall be allowed to students of every denomination of Christians." The names of the present Directors of the Seminary are as follows: John Crosby Brown, Morris K. Jesup, D. Willis James, Francis L. Hine, William M. Kingsley, Edwin M. Bulkley, Charles T. Kissam, George H. Southard, Robert C. Ogden, John Meigs, the Rev. Drs. Charles H. Parkhurst, Stephen W. Dana, Anthony H. Evans, Charles Cuthbert Hall, James M. Ludlow, Thomas A. Nelson, Wilton Merle Smith, Anson P. Atterbury, William F. Whitaker, and William R. Richards. The safeguard for the Seminary is not in a creed subscription but in the character of these men; and after long and careful deliberation they have decided to return to the original plan, which does not require Directors or Professors to subscribe to the Westminster Confession. The action does not alter the attitude of the Directors or of the Faculty of the Seminary toward the Presbyterian Church and the Westminster Confession. It simply enables them to elect as Director or Professor a properly qualified Congregationalist, Baptist, Episcopalian, Methodist, or the like, without asking him to sign the Westminster Confession. It makes the Seminary comprehensive rather than denominational. The report that the Seminary had unanimously accepted a new Confession of Faith is not true. No doctrinal statement has been substituted for the Westminster Confession; the Directors have simply decided that the Seminary's purpose and obligations are sufficiently set forth in the preamble above mentioned. In The Outlook's opinion, the Seminary will, as a result of this action, more nearly fulfill its founders' purpose and at the same time be more in harmony with the catholic and free spirit of the modern Church.

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**Amherst College and Compulsory Athletics**

Amherst College, under the direction of the veteran Dr. Edward Hitchcock, was one of the first—if not actually the first—of educational institutions to introduce compulsory physical exercise and training. For many years at Amherst the undergraduates have been compelled to take light gymnastic work in the gymnasium under

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the supervision of a physician. Compulsory indoor gymnastic work is no longer a novelty, and the department of hygiene and physical education at Amherst College has played no small part in the extension of the *mens sana in corpore sano* idea throughout the country. Amherst has now taken a somewhat radical but very interesting step in advance in the same direction. During the autumn the freshman class, which numbers about one hundred and twenty-five men, have been required to go to Pratt Field four times a week to spend one hour each time in outdoor athletics. The hour was divided into four periods, fifteen minutes for the walk to the field and changing clothes, ten minutes to "setting up" drill, twenty minutes at one of the standard athletic events, and twenty minutes for a bit of play and a shower-bath. The squads were changed each day, so that each man got something of each kind of athletic exercise. A little competition was introduced to add zest to the work. The men came rain or shine and wore as few clothes as the weather would permit. In an interval of five weeks of this compulsory outdoor athletic exercise ninety-two men were weighed and measured, and were found to have made an average gain of one-fifth of an inch in height and seven pounds in weight. Dr. Phillips, the physical director in charge, reports that the men took great interest in the work and followed it with vim and energy. Considerable latent athletic material was discovered during this interesting experiment, which will be available for some of the regular athletic teams of the College. In commenting upon the experiment Dr. Phillips says: "This athletic weathering plan has great possibilities, it seems to me, for our boys, especially those with tendencies to 'Americanitis.' It has possibilities aside from this in helping to obliterate the line frequently drawn by students between the work of the gymnasium and the play of the athletic field, and so unifies the work of physical training and makes it more pleasurable. Again, it introduces all the first year class to the athletic field, and shows them that it is not for the few specialists but for all." Amherst is especially fortunate in having among its alumni men who are members of a family deeply interested in scientific and thorough physical education. Members of this family have already given the College Pratt Institute and Pratt Field, and now Mr. H. I. Pratt, of the class of 1900, has given a large and handsome swimming-pool. Another alumnus has given some squash-racquet courts. When this new swimming and racquet building is finished, Amherst will have one of the most complete equipments for physical education in the country. The old Puritan notion was that the body was an evil, necessary to be sure, but to be kept under and ignored as much as possible. The Amherst idea is also that the body is to be kept under, but under as a corner-stone made of the best material, fashioned with the utmost care, for which silver and ceremony and vines and flowers are none too good to do it honor for its important work of supporting the superstructure of the mind and spirit.

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**Mrs. Gilbert and Madame Janauschek**

Three weeks ago The Outlook had occasion to refer to the personality and art of the well-known actress, Mrs. G. H. Gilbert. It now has to record with real sorrow her death, which occurred suddenly in Chicago last week. Mrs. Gilbert was born in England eighty-three years ago. Her grandfather was a printer and a strict and faithful member of the Wesleyan Church. Her mother's family were farmers. It is probable that Mrs. Gilbert received on the one side, either consciously or unconsciously, the training which gave her a character of peculiar ethical fineness; and on the other that vigor and vitality both of body and spirit which enabled her to carry on her work with buoyancy and success almost to the very hour of death. Mrs. Gilbert began her stage career in the ballet, and made her husband's acquaintance while she was still at work in that department of stagecraft. While she was still under thirty, she and her husband determined to emigrate to America, and settled in Wisconsin, where the savings of herself and her husband were lost in an attempt to go

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into farming. Their failure in this venture sent Mrs. Gilbert back to the work in which she had been trained, and she thereafter steadily grew and prospered in her profession. The comparatively few people who saw Mrs. Gilbert play her charming part in "Granny" this autumn were fortunate in having a visible demonstration of the power of the qualities of the spirit, such as modesty, unselfishness, kindly humor, affection, and sincerity, to vanquish utterly all the oncoming forces of age and material decay.——The younger generation of play-goers can hardly share with their elders the memory of the tragic power of Fanny Janauschek, who died last week after an old age pitiful in its helplessness and distress. She first appeared on the stage in Germany, more than half a century ago, and, young as she was, soon showed a remarkable aptitude for tragic rôles. When she came to America in the full flush of her fame, she at first played in German, but later on learned English that she might appeal to a larger class of play-goers; and it is a tribute to her genuine force and passion as an actress that while she never really mastered the language, her halting pronunciation did not detract from the intensity of her hold over her audiences. Those of our readers who saw Janauschek at her best in such great parts as "Medea" and "Marie Stuart," or in the less intellectual but thrilling double rôle in the dramatization of "Bleak House," will place her among the really great actresses of our day.

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**The Causes of High Prices**

The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor recently concluded an inquiry into the causes of high prices. While necessarily local in its extent, the results are not without value for the country at large. In all, six hundred and sixty-four letters of inquiry were sent out, six hundred and four to persons in Boston, forty to Massachusetts cities, and twenty to the towns. There were one hundred and fifty-one available replies, seventeen coming from dealers in clothing, nineteen from dry-goods merchants, twelve from grocerymen, twenty-two from meat and provision dealers, thirteen from real estate men. All branches of trade and industry, however, were represented in the one hundred and fifty-one replies received. The one hundred and fifty-one replying gave two hundred and fifty-four opinions as to the causes of high prices. Seventy-seven gave trusts as the cause; thirty-three, the restriction of the output of certain commodities; one hundred and seventeen, increased wages; thirty-one, increased cost of labor; twenty-six, shorter working hours; sixty alleged that higher prices were charged because they were obtainable; ten, the increased prosperity of the people; and twenty, that supply and demand have the greatest influence on prices. Summing up the result along these lines, seventy-seven, or 30.32 per cent., gave as their opinion that the high prices were caused by combinations of capital; one hundred and seventeen, or 46.06 per cent., that they were due to labor combinations (resulting in higher wages or shorter working hours, or both); and sixty, or 23.62 per cent., attributed existing conditions to a variety of causes, general in their nature and not directly attributable to either capital or labor. In short, the returns would seem to corroborate the claims that higher prices were an evidence of better times for the laborer, who, while he might have to pay more for his "necessaries of life," would have more to pay for them and would be able to get more enjoyment and profit out of life because of the shorter hours. Of the one hundred and seventeen replies which made particular reference to specific commodities, fifty-eight stated that there were higher prices, thirty-eight that there were lower prices, and twenty-one that there was no change. In considering some outside sources, the Report calls attention to the great outflow of products to foreign countries as a cause for increased prices, remarking that "even with our increased population and increased consumption from various causes, if this great product were thrown into our home markets they would be glutted, and the downfall in prices would be disastrous to producers and distributers."

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Not the least interesting feature of the Report is the inclusion of all the replies, so that each one may for himself determine the value of the opinion expressed. The Report is rather a suggestive than a conclusive contribution to an important discussion.

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# The President's Message

It is the old Congress which meets as we are going to press and to which the President's Message is delivered; and but few of his recommendations can be considered by that body, which was not elected to consider them and which has but three months to close up the business left over from the last session. The Message furnishes evidence of a breadth of information and a carefulness of study of National problems which will surprise even Mr. Roosevelt's admirers. On most National questions he has and expresses a definite conviction; and these convictions are evidently founded on a study of the question—they are neither the reflections of others' opinions nor the expressions of unconsidered first impressions.

His silences are perhaps as significant as his speech. He says nothing respecting either the race problem or the tariff problem. We are very glad of his silence on the race problem. That problem involves National obligations; but for the moment silence by Northern statesmen and journals is the best contribution they can make, that the South may ponder, as it evidently is pondering, this problem in the light of a most extraordinary Presidential election. On the tariff issue the President's silence is perhaps equally wise; though we hope that it will not be prolonged. The Republican Congressmen are divided into three groups on the tariff: those who oppose any change; those who reluctantly concede that some minor modifications in schedules may be necessary; and those who believe in the adoption of a policy of reciprocity and a material reduction of the tariff on a certain considerable class of articles which no longer stand in any need of protection. Any explicit utterance of the President now would identify him with one or the other of these groups, and it is probably a wise policy for him to wait and see what can be done by private and personal influence to secure sonething like united action. The Outlook believes in a radical revision of the tariff. We do not assume to speak for the President and have no right to do so; but we are greatly mistaken if his influence is not exerted in that direction.

On other issues the President speaks with accustomed clearness and candor. No one can well misunderstand his positions. He condemns vigorously peace at any price. "There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. . . . The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned, as we shun unrighteous war." He therefore disapproves the proposal to disarm. "Until some method is devised by which there shall be a degree of international control over offending nations, it would be a wicked thing for the most civilized powers, for those with most sense of international obligation and with keenest and most generous appreciation of the difference between right and wrong, to disarm." He repeats his sharply criticised opinion that it is the duty of America to be ready to exercise international police power on this side of the globe. "Chronic wrong-doing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrong-doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power." He therefore earnestly recommends "that there be no halt in the work of upbuilding the American navy. There is no more patriotic duty before us as a people than to keep the navy adequate to the needs of this country's position. . . . Our voice is now potent for peace, and is so potent because we are not afraid of war.

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But our protestations upon behalf of peace would neither receive nor deserve the slightest attention if we were impotent to make them good."

He is quite as explicit in his condemnation of exploitation of the Philippines for our benefit on the one hand and leaving the Filipinos to work out their own salvation on the other. He states somewhat more definitely than he has before done his ultimate ideal for the archipelago. "I most earnestly hope that in the end they [the Filipinos] will be able to stand, if not entirely alone, yet in some such relation to the United States as Cuba now stands. This end is not yet in sight, and it may be indefinitely postponed if our people are foolish enough to turn the attention of the Filipinos away from the problems of achieving moral and material prosperity, of working for a stable, orderly, and just government, and toward foolish and dangerous intrigues for a complete independence for which they are as yet totally unfit." At the same time he puts emphasis on immediate needs and the importance of supplying them as first steps toward the ultimate goal. These are "schools, good roads, railroads which will enable them to get their products to market, honest courts, an honest and efficient constabulary, and all that tends to produce order, peace, fair dealing as between man and man, and habits of intelligent industry and thrift." The anti-imperialists would defeat their own ends by preventing these first steps toward the accomplishment of those ends. "Unfortunately, hitherto those of our people here at home who have specially claimed to be the champions of the Filipinos have in reality been their worst enemies. This will continue to be the case as long as they strive to make the Filipinos independent, and stop all industrial development of the islands by crying out against the laws which would bring it, on the ground that capitalists must not 'exploit' the islands. Such proceedings are not only unwise, but are most harmful to the Filipinos, who do not need independence at all, but who do need good laws, good public servants, and the industrial development that can only come if the investment of American and foreign capital in the islands is favored in all legitimate ways."

On the industrial issue the President is equally explicit and equally positive. He evidently has no fear of centralization; for all his proposals look in the direction of an extension of the exercise of Federal power: "Wherever the Government has power there should be a stringent employers' liability law, which should apply to the Government itself where the Government is an employer of labor." "The passage of a law requiring the adoption of the block signal system has been proposed to Congress," and the President earnestly recommends such a law. He would also by law limit the hours of labor for all railroad employees on inter-State roads, provide that only trained and experienced persons be employed in responsible positions (which could be done by requiring all such persons to have a Government license, as is now required for steamboat engineers), and require all inter-State railroads to make monthly reports of all accidents. He would have the Department of Commerce and Labor investigate and report to Congress upon the labor conditions throughout the country, with especial attention to child labor, on the hypothesis that investigation and publication would of itself create a public opinion which would correct many existing abuses. He questions whether the power of that Department "cannot constitutionally be extended to cover inter-State transactions in insurance." But his most important recommendation on the industrial problem is one in favor of a law which The Outlook has long been urging as essential to the protection of both shippers and the general public: "In my judgment, the most important legislative act now needed as regards the regulation of corporations is this act to confer on the Inter-State Commerce Commission the power to revise rates and regulations, the revised rate to at once go into effect, and to stay in effect unless and until the court of review reverses it."

In other directions of perhaps no less importance the President believes in and urges an extension of Federal authority. The quarantine regulations should be

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under National, not local, law. Under the Constitution it is in the power of Congress to establish a uniform rule of naturalization; and Congress has allowed any court of record in the United States to naturalize; it should give this power to certain definitely named courts, and should prescribe the conditions on which naturalization may be granted; and it should enact legislation against bribery and corruption in Federal elections. "The details of such a law may be safely left to the wise discretion of the Congress, but it should go as far as under the Constitution it is possible to go, and should include severe penalties against him who gives or receives a bribe intended to influence his act or opinion as an elector; and provisions for the publication not only of the expenditures for nominations and elections of all candidates, but also of all contributions received and expenditures made by political committees." We doubt whether any recommendation of the President is more important than this. It is manifestly unjust that the Nation should be without any remedy against such wholesale bribery as has been practiced in Delaware and Rhode Island, which easily might determine the election of Senators empowered to legislate for the whole Nation. The same remark applies to such intimidation as has apparently been practiced in such States as Colorado and Alabama.

The increase in expenses necessarily involved in increasing the functions of government does not in the least alarm Mr. Roosevelt. He believes that the people can *afford* to do all that the people *need* to do for the National welfare. "The enlargement of the scope of the functions of the National Government required by our development as a nation involves, of course, increase of expense. . . . But abundant revenues and a large surplus always invite extravagance, and constant care should be taken to guard against unnecessary increase of the ordinary expenses of government." Both these principles are illustrated in the course of his message; the second by a recommendation to decrease the amount expended in printing and binding Government publications by at least one-half. "Probably the great majority of the Government reports and the like now printed are never read at all; and, furthermore, the printing of much of the material contained in many of the remaining ones serves no useful purpose whatever." On the other hand, the policy of expenditure by the Nation for the National welfare is strikingly illustrated by the account which he gives of what the Department of Agriculture is doing. It has a faculty of two thousand specialists making research into all the sciences of production, reaches every State and Territory in the Nation and the islands of the sea lately come under our flag, investigates meteorology and its relations to plant and animal life, anticipates the seasons of the cyclones from the South and the cold winds from the North and advises agriculturists respecting them, inspects meats, guards the health of animals and so protects the excellence of our flocks and herds, has promoted the cultivation of rice on the Gulf, so that we are now exporting it to rice-growing countries, the cultivation of macaroni wheat in the West and Southwest, and the cultivation of figs, dates, and mangoes in Southern California; it is fighting the boll weevil, has imported for propagation an ant which has proved an effective enemy to the weevil in Guatemala, and a parasitic fly from South Africa to fight the black scale, the worst enemy of the orange-grower in Southern California; and has imported large quantities of the mulberry as a preparation for silk-growing. All this costs money, mounting up to half a score or more millions of dollars every year. Similar work is being carried on for the reclamation of arid lands and the preservation and development of forests, though the latter work is now under the charge of the Interior Department. It should be transferred to the Department of Agriculture, where it normally belongs.

In this article we attempt to report the President's Message rather than to comment upon it. The reader will be interested to compare this Message, interpreting officially the Republican policy and spirit, with Mr. Bryan's paper, published in this number of The Outlook,

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interpreting with scarcely less authority the policy and spirit of one section of the Democratic party. They agree in their vigorous and enthusiastic support of the rights and welfare of the great body of the people, as against all class and caste favoritism. Mr. Roosevelt maintains that this is to be done by giving the Federal Government power to protect and promote the popular welfare; we do not think it unjust to Mr. Bryan to say that he alternates between a policy which would limit the functions and powers of Government lest it use those powers for favored classes, and one which would transfer to it functions which in the past have been regarded as industrial rather than as political.

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## Mr. Bryan on Democracy in Defeat

In its issue of November 12 The Outlook, commenting on the election, said: "We anticipate that with this election individualistic Democracy as a political power ends; that the Democracy of the future will be that represented by Mr. Bryan and Mr. Watson—not Socialism, but a Social Democracy." It is for this reason that we have asked Mr. Bryan to tell our readers what are the principles of Democracy, as he understands them. This he does in this issue.

Mr. Bryan's style is characteristic of the man. It is the style of one who has thought out the problems of the hour to a conclusion, whose conclusions are based not on political expediency but on ethical principles, and who has therefore the courage of his convictions, the courage which makes him as ready to avow them after overwhelming defeat as in the hour of battle and in hope of victory. Who, for example, of his most bitter opponents can fail to admire the spirit which in defeat dictates this paragraph:

> If I were going to coin a new proverb to fit this case, it would run like this: "Envy not the prosperity of the evil doer. It cannot last." As well envy the success of the horse-thief after he has come into possession of a stolen horse, and before the transgressor is overtaken by the officers of the law, as to envy a man, a party, or a nation after a temporary triumph, and before immutable law has had time to operate.

There is no misunderstanding Mr. Bryan. He does not guard his affirmations with so many qualifications that no man can guess what he really affirms, nor leave loop-holes for retreat in case his doctrines fail to find adherents, nor use words in a double sense, nor employ them to obscure his meaning, nor put on a semblance of wisdom and morality by indulgence in general platitudes. He is clear, definite, positive, concrete. The intelligent and honest reader can easily understand his meaning. Whether he will be the Democratic candidate in 1908, or even the Democratic leader in the interim, it is too early to prophesy. But it cannot be doubted that he is the clearest and ablest exponent, if not of opinions entertained, at least of a political spirit and purpose shared, by a very great number of American citizens, and so the representative of a political force which must be reckoned with, and if reckoned with must be understood. A clearer statement of that spirit and purpose the public are not likely to get from any quarter for some time to come. His paper in this issue, on "The Future of the Democratic Party," may fairly be regarded as the political platform of what we have ventured to call "a Social Democracy," and we advise those of our readers who are interested in the current political life of the Nation to cut this article out and keep it for reference, unless they are accustomed to keep The Outlook itself on file.

In some important respects we heartily agree with Mr. Bryan. We agree that every economic question is at foundation a moral question, and that the moral considerations outweigh all considerations of so-called expediency; that taxes should be levied on possessions rather than on expenditures; that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable; that vigorous legislative and executive action is required to regulate the trusts; that the State has a right and often a duty to regulate by law hours and conditions of labor; that there is a real danger of the abuse of injunctions by the courts, especially in industrial controversies; and that every

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people, at home and abroad, in State, Territory, and Dependency, white, brown, and black, is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

But in some very important respects we do not agree with Mr. Bryan. We do not think an income tax is either the wisest or the most just method of levying taxes on possessions—for a tax on industry is not the same as a tax on property; nor that the remedy for monopoly is the re-establishment of competition—a more hopeful remedy is Governmental direction and control; nor that the use of preventive measures by injunction should be prohibited—rather that men accused of violating injunctions should be given trial by jury; nor that the best way to insure liberty for the Filipinos is to sail away and leave them independent—on the contrary, their only hope of liberty lies in the maintenance of their organic connection with the United States, under its sovereignty. And we may add that, in our judgment, any attempt to destroy National banks of issue would be against the lessons of historic experience and disastrous to the industrial well-being of all classes in the community; any attempt to establish bimetallism in this country without the co-operation of other countries would give us a silver monometallism, the disastrous effects of which would fall most heavily on the wage-earners; and that if it is our duty to protect the liberties and promote the economic and intellectual progress of the Filipinos abroad, it is no less our duty to protect the liberties and promote the economic and intellectual progress of the African race at home, a subject on which Mr. Bryan is silent.

We make these statements, not by way of criticism or debate, for we have not invited Mr. Bryan to our columns for that purpose, but by way of defining more clearly in certain details the differences between the principles of Democracy as Mr. Bryan understands them and the principles of what we may call Modern Federalism as we understand them. In our judgment, the political issue of the future will be one joined between these two schools or tendencies, and they are both authoritatively interpreted in this issue of The Outlook—Social Democracy by Mr. William J. Bryan's paper, Modern Federalism by the second inaugural of President Roosevelt, of which we give in another place an abstract and interpretation.

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# A Bill for Health and Honesty

Protection of the public health is becoming increasingly a matter for regulation by law. For example, when the meat eaten by a family came from a slaughter-house in the neighborhood, and was eaten fresh, certain serious defects in it were, comparatively, easily discoverable. If the slaughter-house were uncleanly, the fact would be notorious. If the meat were putrid, it would be too repulsive to be edible. Now, however, conditions have changed. The meat comes from—the eater knows not where. It has been subjected to some preservative process, the eater knows not what. As Professor Sedgwick, in his book "Principles of Sanitary Science and the Public Health," points out, spoiled meats which ordinarily would be so distasteful as rarely to be eaten can be made, when canned, perfectly palatable. In the matter of food, as in many other things, civilization seems to be in part a process, first of deceiving our senses and instincts, and then of protecting them by law against deception.

There are men who are willing to take advantage of the complexities brought about by modern civilization, and to endanger human life, if by so doing they can make money. Such are the men who maintain noisome tenement-houses, or who put iron bars into life-preservers. Such also are the men who adulterate food, drink, and drugs. It is estimated that about five per cent. of all articles of food are adulterated to-day. Although this is much less than it used to be, it is larger than it seems. Outside the great staples, such as corn and potatoes, which are not capable of adulteration, twenty per cent. of the articles of food in common use are adulterated. Every one who eats, drinks, or takes as medicine any manufactured article is con-

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cerned in what is known as pure food legislation.

There is now before Congress a bill designed to protect the public—consumers, manufacturers, and dealers alike—against the adulteration and misbranding of foods and drugs. It was introduced into the House and amended in the Senate at the last session; it has been discussed in committee and thoroughly examined. It ought to have popular attention and approval.

This bill, as Senator Heyburn, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Manufactures, said at a hearing, is "a bill in the interest of candor. It makes people tell the truth about their dealings." It prohibits the adulteration or misbranding of any article of food or drugs. It provides for the examination by the Department of Agriculture of such articles when offered for sale in the District of Columbia, in any Territory or insular possession, or in any State other than that in which they have been manufactured, and also articles imported or intended for export. It designates the process by which such articles may be condemned and by which the violator of the law may be punished. There are many details, as, for example, the definition of "drugs," of "adulteration," and of "misbranded," and the adjustment of the operation of the law to the police powers of the several States. Into these details it is not our purpose to enter. They will be necessarily determined by legal, scientific, and business experts. If they are impracticable, they can be modified. The fact which chiefly concerns the ordinary citizen is that, if this bill should pass, there will be for the first time a National pure food and pure drug law. Instead of discussing the details of the bill, The Outlook states the general purposes and principles embodied in it.

First and most important, the bill is designed to supply protection against a menace to the health and even life of Americans. It is not necessary to explain at length how ill health and even death lurk in certain forms of adulteration. Coloring matter which is put into an article of food in order to make it resemble the product from which it is supposed to be manufactured may be poisonous. Ingredients harmless in themselves may be used to disguise some harmful material. Chemicals used as preservatives may be unhygienic. Drugs valuable in certain doses may be in such a large quantity in a proprietary medicine that its probable use by the purchaser may be insidiously hurtful and even fatal in its effect. By this bill it is intended that such articles shall be excluded from the market or that their character shall be plainly designated by labels.

Secondarily, the bill is designed to supply protection against fraud and deception at the expense of the purchaser. That is, it guards not only the public health but also the public pocketbook. Glucose, for instance, has the same food value as cane sugar; but it is much cheaper. The substitution of glucose for cane sugar in preserving fruits is very profitable to the manufacturer and is of no danger to health; but the purchaser who gets glucose when he thinks he is getting sugar pays for what he does not get. So when the consumer pays for olive oil and gets cottonseed oil he may not suffer in body but he does suffer in pocket. By this bill it is intended that every such article shall be sold for what it is or else excluded from the market.

It is true that such protection has been partly secured by Federal laws concerning imports and by pure food laws of the several States. This legislation has been of value not to be underestimated. The importation of adulterated olive oil, for instance, has, it is believed, almost ceased. The amount of general adulteration has been reduced, according to the testimony of the Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry, Department of Agriculture, from fifteen to five per cent. within a few years. Nevertheless, such legislation is insufficient for two reasons. First, the Federal legislation regarding importations cannot reach the articles after the matter of entry is settled. The dealer then can tear off the old labels and put on new and misleading ones. It is true that then the articles are subject to State laws; but among these there is such a lack of

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uniformity that fraud is possible. Moreover, this very lack of uniformity subjects the honest manufacturer and dealer to vast trouble and expense. By this bill, therefore, it is intended that inter-State commerce in food and drugs shall come under more uniform and reasonable regulation.

From this it is clear that, although the bill is designed particularly for the benefit of the consumer, it is to the very distinct advantage of the manufacturer and the dealer who are honest. Indeed, it is interesting to note that there is no organized opposition to the bill, but that, on the contrary, the strongest kind of commendation of pure food and pure drug legislation has been expressed by the organizations representing the manufacturers and distributers of food products and wholesale and retail druggists. The bill, as Dr. Wiley, Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry, says, "is framed broadly in the interest of the whole people."

Bills of this kind have now been appearing for some years. The principles involved in pure food legislation have been discussed in Congress and in committees, and have been approved. They are now embodied in a bill, and can be definitely adopted by the Nation. It is time for legislation on the subject. The dishonest man may be opposed to it; the man careless of human life may be indifferent to it; but every one else has reason for demanding that the principles and purposes of this bill be embodied in a National law.

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## "For a Memorial"

Republics may not be ungrateful, but they are forgetful. "Lord, keep my memory green," is a prayer which deserves a special place in the liturgy of all democratic communities; and all democracies should do something to help furnish an answer to the prayer.

At the close of the Civil War the country was divided into three parties on the question, What shall be done with the negro? One party in the South, and an influential one, desired to attach the negro to the soil and build on the ruins of slavery a system of feudal serfdom. A party in the North, and a temporarily victorious one, wished instantly to clothe the just emancipated negro with all the political prerogatives of citizenship, and so construct a radical democracy out of the débris of a ruined aristocracy by a Congressional decree. One party believed that progress was impossible for the negro; the other believed that he might be treated as though he had already developed into a perfect manhood. A third party, probably larger than both the others combined, simply dismissed the problem altogether. They thought that emancipation had solved the labor problem of the South, whereas it had only made a solution of it possible. At that time but few men saw clearly what all the country now sees, that it was alike unjust to the negro to forbid him free development and to the Nation to assume that he possessed a development which slavery had systematically denied to him.

These men sought to give the negro an education which serfdom would have denied to him, and which the bestowal of the suffrage assumed was unnecessary for him. Among these pioneers in a policy which all the world now sees to be as essential to peace as it was inherently just and right was the Rev. Dr. M. E. Strieby. He had been, before the war, pastor of an anti-slavery church for eleven years and founder of another anti-slavery church and its pastor for eleven more, and by voice and pen contributed, as many another pastor did, to awaken the Northern conscience to the simple and self-evident truth that to do justly is essential in true religion. When the war ended, he resigned his pastorate and gave himself to the work of proving to a skeptical South, by actual experiment, that the negro could be educated, and to an apathetic North that he ought to be educated. "We stand," he said, "beside the crumbled ruins of slavery uttering their terrible lesson of warning. Do not repeat the stupid and criminal neglect that will again call down the vengeance of heaven." In the work which has dotted the South with institutions of the higher learning for the negro,

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equipped by benevolence, and has led the South in its own splendid campaign against ignorance and thriftlessness, by its establishment of a public school system available alike for white and black, Dr. Strieby was a pioneer. If it had not been for the religious faith and the democratic spirit and the statesman-like understanding of half a score of men, among whom he occupied a foremost place, the South would be still sunk in the slough of ignorance and poverty in which the combined desolations of slavery and war had left it.

Such men ought not to be forgotten. But the only memorial, we believe, to Dr. Strieby's memory, except two pews bearing his name in the chapel at Tougaloo University, is Strieby Hall, at that University, which, owing to the peculiar nature of the ground, has been condemned and is about to be demolished. Are there no old-time friends of this pioneer in the work of emancipation and education who will see to it that a new building to his memory is erected where the old one stood? It is idle to say that his work is his best memorial. His works follow him, but they do not memorialize him. The American Missionary Association, which he did so much to energize and develop that he might almost be called one of its founders, is a product of his life, but it is not a preservation of his memory. Would a son be content to mark his father's grave with a stone which bore no name upon it? As little may we of the present generation satisfy our affectionate reverence for our fathers in the faith of God and the service of humanity by merely continuing their work. We should so continue it as to keep alive their memory. It is recorded that when Israel passed over the river Jordan they erected on its banks a rough stone monument "for a memorial unto the children of Israel forever." We want to see "Strieby Hall" at Tougaloo, that men seeing it may ask, What does this mean? and may learn the lesson of his life. The colleges men found with their money bear their name. There ought to be found room for the name of "Strieby" somewhere in that great work to which he gave his life.

## The Spectator

They tell the Spectator that the last of the south-bound birdlings has by this time taken wing—news at which he is unfeignedly glad. Now perhaps he may be able to turn off a little work. Since the last of August, when they began to pack their grips and consult time-tables, they have kept him in a state of perpetual unrest. Two fine old apple-trees beside his window have been full all day of restless little bunches of feathers, stopping over to break the journey from the far North. Every time he has taken up his pen some unfamiliar "tsip" or "cheep" from without has made him drop it and seize a spy-glass and a bird book. From this it will be seen that the Spectator has fallen prey to the devastating epidemic of ornithitis.

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It was not always thus. The Spectator well remembers when all birds looked alike to him; when you could cheat him with the alarm-note of a robin; when the song-sparrow passed with him for a dozen kinds of bird. In those good old days he could write in the midst of a musical festival. Nothing in feathers had power to train him from his work, charm it never so wisely. But last summer, in New Brunswick—a place much favored for summer residence by the more fastidious sort of bird—he fell into the clutches of a confirmed ornithomaniac, who never let him go until she had made him as mad as herself.

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She did not accomplish it all at once. It was weeks before the Spectator could be got to forget his dinner, whereas the lady his instructor ignored hers altogether when there were strange birds about. She would sit petrified under a tree for hours together, she would stand rooted in a bog, she would prowl through leagues of dank and tangled underbrush, she would plant herself in the path of an oncoming train—and all for the sake of scraping acquaintance with some shy songster as big as your two thumbs. Mosquitoes, cows, home, husband, country—all these were as nothing to her

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when once her eye had caught the flirt of unfamiliar feathers, or her ear the lilt of a new song. At such times it was as idle to talk to her as to try to gossip with the Sphinx. It is the Spectator's fixed conviction that had a ruffian menaced her with a gun while she was in the trance of bird-stalking, she would merely have raised that delicate hand of hers in an admonitory "S-s-sh!"

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Now, the Spectator took his birds more philosophically—that is, at first—encouraged thereto by the ornithomaniac herself. That artful woman led him to believe that the life of a birdist was one of appreciative otiosity. She installed him in a hammock in the sun-flecked shade of a clump of silver birches and coaxed him into watching the birds that skipped about among the branches over his head. She taught him the simplest of the songs which rang out continually from a little grove not a hundred yards away. And the Spectator liked it. He liked to watch a fiery redstart fidgeting through the leafage, dropping from twig to twig in his pitiless pursuit of fat worms. It pleased him to think how much easier dinner came to him than to this gorgeous black-and-orange "candelita." He had no objection to listening to the white-throated sparrow calling eternally, "Poor—Tom—Peabody, Peabody, Peabody!" or the red-eyed vireo repetitiously preaching, or the hermit thrush whistling clearly from the dusk of the grove. It was sociable and didn't interfere with cat-naps of the most satisfactory variety. But his instructor did not long indulge him in this sort of luxurious idling. When the Spectator had listened to bird songs until he could not hear a twitter without a spasm of curiosity, she tightened her toils. Bringing a low chair, she came to keep the Spectator company in his bird vigils under the birches, and boasted shamelessly of her own sharpness of eye, prating of "crowns" and "rumps" and "median stripes" and "wing coverts" and other things the Spectator had not known appertained to birds, until he grew jealous for his own powers of observation. In self-defense he began to strain his eyes to recognize the redstart's silent, olive-tinted little dud of a wife. He vexed his soul to make out the distinguishing marks of Madame Tom Peabody and Mrs. Preacher-bird. Before he knew it he was the hopeless slave of the spy-glass.

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Then, indeed, was his subjugation complete. The ornithomaniac at once began her serious educational campaign. Routing the Spectator out of his comfortable hammock, she led him afield in the broiling sun. It was then that the Spectator met his arch-enemy, the junco-bird. "The junco is so easy," said his teacher, "and I can show you the nest. They're a trifle shy now, but when the young birds are out of the nest they'll hop about our very doorstep." So she led the way to a meadow, deep in daisies, which served her in lieu of a front lawn, and bore down cautiously upon a colony of little white spruces. When she was within six feet of the trees, there came a sudden whir of wings, and the Spectator caught a flash of white lightning. "There goes the mother bird!" cried the bird-fancier in a satisfied tone. "You got a splendid view of her. You'll know her again by the white tail-feathers!" Then she made the Spectator kowtow while she lifted the lowest branch of the spruce and gave him a dim glimpse of five whitish ovals in a grassy nest underneath. Then, having made him acquainted with the alpha and omega of the junco, she took him for a walk.

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They had not gone far when the Spectator spied a bird all by himself, a blackish bird with a pink bill. He referred it to the lady. "Why, that," she cried, "is a junco! Didn't you see the white tail-feathers?" "No," said the Spectator, a trifle abashed. "I think he was sitting on his tail. But I'll know him next time." And they went on. The ornithomaniac kept stopping in the lovely woodland road to listen for invisible birdlings, and the Spectator found himself far ahead. He stood waiting, drinking in the fresh beauty of the wood—for New Brunswick in late June

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is like New England in May—when a queer kind of trilling began in a tree close at hand. Some bird—Demosthenes, it seemed—was trying to sing with his mouth full of pebbles. The Spectator stood like a statue and raked with his eyes every tree in sight. And he was rewarded. Not only did his eye light on the singer, but the bird considerately sat still until he had time to mark its every detail of dress. When the bird flew, he dashed back to the authority in the road behind him. "I've found a bird," cried he, thereby putting to rout a black-throated green warbler the bird-lady was studying; "I've found a bird, and I looked at her very carefully. She had a white front and a deep black yoke." The lady interrupted with a far-away look in her eyes. "It was a junco," she said. The Spectator used the most powerful language he allows himself. "Behold!" cried he, "all juncos are impostors, and all birds are juncos! No more will I call him junco—the name of that bird is the Bunco-bird from this time forth, and even for ever more!"

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To comfort him the bird-fancier took him strawberrying on the top of a tall hill. But even here there was a little clump of conifers, and she thought she heard a chickadee discoursing among the highest branches. The question was, Is the bird a Hudsonian chickadee, or just a chickadee? and the fate of the nations appeared to depend upon the answer. The Spectator was set down on a pile of prickly twigs, with instructions not to move an eye-winker. He stood it awhile. But when his nose tickled and he wasn't allowed to scratch it, he rebelled and made a break for the open. Here he found strawberries, plump and luscious, half buried in little green mounds of moss. He made him a cornucopia out of a newspaper, and had picked a generous cupful of berries when he was startled by a guttural hiss from the ground beside him. He looked down, and there at his very heels was an awesome fowl of some sort, all mouth and rumpled mottled grayish feathers, hissing at him as viciously as an angered snake. The Spectator was surprised. He got up so hastily that he spilled his berries and took a step or two in flight. Then it occurred to him that he might, like Falstaff, overestimate the strength of the foe, and he turned back to investigate. The bird, he then saw, was making the very most of itself, ruffling its feathers and drooping its wings like a belligerent sparrow. He guessed that a tape-line would show it to be not much longer than a robin, though with a much greater spread of wing. He thought he could cope with a thing like that, and determined to subject it to careful observation.

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"Is it," he asked himself seriously, "by any chance a Bunco-bird?" He considered its mottled plumage and answered firmly, "No!" The bird by this time was trying to make off, hobbling and fluttering as if it had a broken wing. In the interest of science the Spectator followed. The unlucky bird stumbled and blundered painfully over the hillocky ground, but managed to keep just out of reach of the Spectator's wishful fingers. In this way it worked its way a dozen yards or so, when, without the slightest warning, it sailed leagues high into the air. And, lo! it was unmistakably a night-hawk! And no more an injured night-hawk than the Spectator was a gratified man. Then from a dizzy height it swooped down and just skimmed the top of the Spectator's head. A second later it was joined by two others of its noxious kind, and the three began to amuse themselves by seeing how near they could fly to the Spectator without putting out his eyes. The Spectator put his manhood in his pocket and fled for the protecting shade of the wood. Here he found his preceptor and retailed his woes. "Pshaw!" she cried, in obvious vexation. "You missed the chance of your life. You must have been within a few feet of the young. That old hen fluttered off to decoy you away. You've been egregiously taken in." So it was a Bunco-bird after all!

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# THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

## A DISCUSSION OF MORAL ISSUES IN PENDING QUESTIONS

## *BY WILLIAM J. BRYAN*

IN response to the request of The Outlook, I submit the following suggestions in regard to the election and its influence upon the future of the Democratic party. It is impossible to say just in what proportion a number of causes contributed to the overwhelming victory recently recorded in favor of the Republican party, or, more accurately speaking, against the Democratic party, for the returns will show that the falling off in the Democratic vote was not entirely offset by Republican gains. A multitude of opinions have been expressed in regard to the election and its political effect. Some have attributed it to Mr. Roosevelt's popularity, but this hardly accounts for it, because men in public life are favored or opposed because of what they stand for rather than because of personal characteristics.

As both candidates stood for the gold standard, the result cannot be construed as a victory for gold. As Judge Parker announced in his first speech that it would be almost if not quite impossible to reform the tariff during his administration because of the large Republican majority in the Senate, the result cannot be regarded as a vindication of the Republican position on the tariff question. The trust issue was not presented with sufficient definiteness by either side to make the election a deliberate decision of the people on the trust question. Neither can the result be regarded as a specific declaration for or against remedial legislation upon the labor question. Judge Parker did not emphasize the labor question and Mr. Roosevelt did not refer to it. The fact that Mr. Douglas was elected Governor in Massachusetts by the aid of the labor vote, and the further fact that Governor Peabody was defeated in Colorado by the same influence, while both States went Republican on the National ticket, would indicate that the labor vote inclined toward President Roosevelt, if it showed any trend in either direction. While the Democrats endeavored to lay emphasis upon the imperialistic policy of the Republican party, the Republicans refused to meet the issue, and the President, instead of outlining a policy and defending it, declared that no promise of any kind could be given at this time. It would be unfair, therefore, to regard the election as a definite declaration of policy on the Philippine question.

### THE FOLLY OF COMPROMISE

While it would be difficult to regard the election as a vindication of any particular policy of the Republican party, or of any definite principle advocated by it, the returns did show most conclusively the folly of trying to run a Democratic campaign on compromises and concessions. While the election may not show the President what the people want him to do, it does show the Democratic party what it ought not to do. For the past eight years the Democratic needle has been to a greater or less extent deflected from the fixed principle—"equal rights to all and special privileges to none"—that ought to guide it, by the influence of what is called the conservative element of the party. As soon as



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the result of the election in 1896 was known, the Democrats who were responsible for the party's defeat immediately began to give it advice. Those who had themselves voted for Palmer and Buckner (who polled about one hundred and thirty thousand votes in the Nation) began to tell the Democratic party how to win. They desired to so modify the Democratic platform as to eliminate what they called "radicalism" and "populism." As the Convention of 1900 approached, it became evident that the reorganizers were not so strong among the voters as they were in the newspapers. They failed to control the Kansas City Convention. A second National defeat, however, strengthened the reorganizing element, and, by appealing to the office-hunger of some and to the fears of others, it succeeded in controlling the St. Louis Convention. The campaign of 1904 was conducted on "conservative" lines. The Democratic candidate announced his adherence to the gold standard (although the platform did not refer to the money question at all), and until nearly the close of the campaign the only vigorous attack made against the Republicans was against the policy of imperialism. Just before the election Judge Parker charged that the Republican Committee was drawing its sinews of war from the treasuries of the trusts, but the charge came too late to have much influence upon the election. When the vote was counted, it was found that the Democrats of the Nation did not indorse the conservative plan of campaign. Not only in the Western and Middle States, but even in the East, the Democratic vote was smaller than it was in 1900. As the so-called conservative Democrats have relied upon the promise of victory rather than upon any well-defined political principles, the overwhelming defeat answers their only argument and leaves the Democratic party free to take up the work of reform. While those who supported the Democratic ticket regard the defeat as an injury to the Nation, still the radical Democrats realize that so signal a reverse removes the temptation that has for eight years embarrassed the party and made its course uncertain. The party can now formulate a complete and consistent plan of campaign against the spirit of plutocracy which runs through the policies of the Republican party.

## THE MORAL PHASES OF PUBLIC QUESTIONS

The Democratic party is now in a position to consider the moral issues presented by pending problems, and in the presentation of the moral phases of public questions is the strength of the Democratic position to-day. Every great political question has an economic bearing, and every economic question is at foundation a moral question. The line between right and wrong runs through every problem of government, and the final decision of the problem is along this line. No proposition is better supported by history than that "righteousness exalteth a nation," and it is as true of a party as it is of a nation. In fact, no one can form an accurate judgment upon the individual man or upon groups of men who does not accept as his major premise that truth rests upon justice, and is omnipotent. Just in so far as an individual follows this doctrine he succeeds; there is no other true measure of success. In proportion as he departs from this doctrine he fails. If for a time he seems to prosper, his prosperity is only apparent, for no amount of wealth or honor can compensate for the doing of an injustice, and history deals with men, with parties, and with nations, according to one inexorable law—"The wages of sin is death."

If I were going to coin a new proverb to fit this case, it would run like this: "Envy not the prosperity of the evil doer. It cannot last." As well envy the success of the horse-thief after he has come into possession of a stolen horse, and before the transgressor is overtaken by the officers of the law, as to envy a man, a party, or a nation after a temporary triumph, and before immutable law has had time to operate.

When injustice is done by a large group or by indirection, it is more difficult to trace the responsibility, and punishment may be more slow, but the penalty

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is no less sure. The man who transgresses the laws of nature may escape punishment for a year or for a decade, but the relation between cause and effect, however extended, is not broken. In the case of a nation a century may elapse between the sowing of the wind and the reaping of the whirlwind, but the one follows the other.

## JUSTICE AND TAXATION

The problems which confront the Nation to-day involve moral questions, and the welfare of the Nation depends upon their just solution. The subject of taxation is an ever-present one. Many opinions may be expressed as to the amount of taxes to be raised, and as to the manner and proportion in which they shall be collected, but no one will dispute the proposition that unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation, nor will any one attempt to defend a distribution of taxes when that distribution is confessedly unjust. The only questions, then, open for consideration are, How much taxation is necessary? and, What system or systems nearest approach justice?

The Republican party is more inclined to extravagance in appropriations than the Democratic party, and two reasons may be suggested for this. First, the Republican party contains more rich men than the Democratic party, and as the rich spend money more freely than the poor, they naturally do not hold their public servants to as strict an accountability as the Democrats do. In the second place, the Republicans have for a generation taught the heresy that tariff taxation confers a benefit upon the country in addition to the revenue that it brings. When a man is thoroughly imbued with the idea that a tax is a blessing, he is apt, when in office, to enlarge the blessing, especially if he belongs to the class known as the "tax-eating" class rather than to the tax-paying class.

The Federal revenues to-day are derived almost entirely from taxes upon consumption, and such taxes always bear heaviest upon the poor and lightest upon the rich. Under taxes on consumption men contribute, not in proportion to property or income, but in proportion to what they eat, drink, wear, and use. In other words, taxes on consumption are taxes upon our needs, and men's needs, being created by the Almighty, are much more nearly equal than their possessions. Tariff taxes being collected indirectly, the amount of the tax is concealed. A less amount of injustice done under direct taxation would arouse much more resentment and resistance than a much larger injustice done through indirect taxation. It would be a reflection upon the patriotism of the people to say that they would not under direct taxation contribute willingly a sufficient amount to support the Government.

If tariff reform and an income tax are steps toward justice in taxation, as I believe they are, the Democratic party ought boldly to advocate them and take advantage of the growth in the sentiment which must ultimately support these reforms.

## THE IMMORALITY OF TRUSTS

The trust question involves a moral principle. Viewed from a moral standpoint, what difference is there between the trust magnate who sandbags his victims upon the industrial highways and the masked robber who, with more risk, practices larceny upon the side street and the country road? The private monopoly has always been an outlaw. The Democratic National platform has twice declared, "A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable." It cannot be defended by any argument based upon history or human nature, and its exactions will not long be willingly tolerated by any people who believe in equal rights and equal opportunities.

Of course opposition to the trusts insures opposition from the trusts; but how can a party be judged better than by the company it keeps? Trust magnates will not be friendly to a party that is unfriendly to them, and the fact that they support a party raises a presumption against that party. If they give liberally to the campaign fund of a party, it cannot be for any other purpose than to reward the party for what it has done for them or to purchase some advantage in the future. A trust magnate

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may contribute from his own purse to advance the general principles of his party, but when he contributes from trust funds it must be on the theory that the trust itself is to be benefited, for how otherwise could he defend the donation of funds that belong not to him but to the stockholders? If the great corporations help a party into power, the party cannot repay the corporations except at the expense of the public.

Aside from the economic injustice that the trusts are doing, they are guilty of another immorality in that they are corrupting politics and debauching not only the voters who are bought, but the representatives who are led to betray their constituents. The Democratic party should attack the principle of private monopoly whenever and wherever applied. It cannot hope to succeed merely by attacking some one trust; it must attack them all.

## JEFFERSON THE FOE OF MONOPOLY

"Legislate as little as possible, and leave the rest to the energies of a free people"—thus spake Jefferson, and this language is often quoted by those who oppose legislation intended to destroy the trusts. Such an application of his language, however, does great injustice to Jefferson. He was the foe of monopoly. So great was his opposition to the principle of monopoly that he even questioned whether the Government ought to grant a patent; and while he made this exception, he defined the grounds upon which the exception stands, and insisted that even this exception should be carefully guarded. No one who understands Jefferson's hostility to all kinds of special privilege would be guilty of so using anything he ever said as an argument against any needed remedial legislation. If by legislation corporations are permitted to become so large as to endanger the public welfare, it will not do to plead in their behalf the restriction of legislative power. Jefferson was opposed to what is called paternalism in government; he did not believe that the people should be taught to depend upon the government, but he never questioned the right or the duty of Congress to employ its delegated powers to the fullest extent when necessary for the protection of human rights and the public welfare. In his first inaugural message—a message which has been the standing Democratic platform ever since—Jefferson demanded "the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad." The "whole constitutional vigor" of the General Government is needed just now to cope with the trust question. In the discussion of the principles of Jefferson it must be remembered that we have a very different situation to meet to-day from that which confronted Jefferson, and we must look to the democratic spirit of his teachings, not merely to the letter, to learn what Jefferson would do to-day. Laws that were sufficient for the regulation of travel by stage are not sufficient for the regulation of travel by rail; but the same spirit that would prompt legislation to protect passengers then would prompt the protection of passengers to-day, just as the spirit that would prohibit the beating of a man with a club would, after the introduction of firearms, prohibit the injury of a man with powder and ball. If the defenders of the trusts are so anxious to obey the injunction of Jefferson, let them begin by refusing to grant to corporations charters that permit the exploitation of the public. It is absurd to invoke Jefferson's advice against restraining legislation after having disregarded it in the creation of corporations.

## THE POSITION OF PARTIES AS TO MONOPOLIES

The Republican party by its defense of the principle of private monopoly is hastening the consideration of the issue presented by Socialism. The Democrats declare that all private monopolies are bad, and favor such legislation as will restore the reign of competition. When Republicans assert, as some do, that a private monopoly is the natural outgrowth of our economic development, when they declare that monopolies are beneficent and helpful, they go more than half-way toward Socialism. The

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Socialist carries the argument a little farther and insists that the advantage of monopoly should accrue to the public and not to a few men. Republicans have been in the habit of denouncing the Democrats as Socialists, and yet the Republicans themselves have done more to strengthen the Socialistic position than the Democrats have. It is the failure of the party in power to protect the public from the great consolidations of money that has given an impetus to Socialistic doctrines. The Democrats draw the line between what are called natural monopolies and ordinary industries. A city water plant, for instance, is a natural monopoly, because it is impossible to have a number of competing water systems. The same is true of lighting plants and other municipal enterprises. Competition is practically impossible in such cases, and the Democrats, as a rule—and the rule is becoming more and more nearly universal—favor municipal ownership and operation of these plants. The Democrats favor municipal ownership, not because the principle of competition is bad, but because competition in the case of municipal plants is impossible. The Republicans, on the contrary, are now insisting that competition among great industries is a harmful thing and that these industries are justified in combining to suspend competition, although it is well known that the corporations and not the public reap the benefit that comes from controlling the market. The consolidation of the great lines of railroad inevitably tends to force upon the public the question whether the railroads shall be controlled by the public in their own interest, or controlled by the railroad magnates for the exploitation of the people. No one at all familiar with public affairs can doubt that the private ownership of railroads will cease as soon as the monopolistic plans of the railroad monopolists are realized, and yet the Republican party is doing nothing to prevent the watering of stock, the creation of fictitious capitalization, and the consolidation of the railroads. If the Merger case is cited as an evidence of the intention of the Republican party to prevent the consolidation of railroads, it must be remembered that the case was decided by a majority of one, and that the Justice who cast the deciding vote rested his decision upon arguments that may not apply to the next case; and it must also be remembered that the leading Republican papers have advocated such an amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law as will legalize the very thing which the Merger decision has temporarily restrained. The Justice appointed by President Roosevelt dissented from the opinion rendered by the majority.

The trusts, which have been given unbridled license, are much more dangerous than the railroad merger. The people have it in their power to regulate railroad rates, although their efforts have several times been nullified by the Supreme Court; but the industrial combinations are subject to no regulation whatever, and are violating the Anti-Trust Law with impunity.

The Democratic party, no longer under the influence of corporate wealth and no longer subject to the dictation of those who would conciliate the predatory classes, is in position to make this issue sharp and distinct, and to present the moral phases of the trust question.

## THE LABOR QUESTION IN POLITICS

The labor question presents pre-eminently a moral issue. The relation between employer and employee is becoming more and more strained, and the gulf which separates them seems to be ever widening. The industrial situation cannot be viewed with unconcern, and the Republican platform suggests no remedy. The right of the people, acting as a whole, to prohibit the employment of child labor in factories is no longer disputed, but the right of the State to protect workingmen from the evil effects of long hours is still a matter of controversy. Those who oppose such legislation rest their arguments upon what they call the right of private contract, and they assert that the Government cannot legally interfere with a contract between employer and employee. But those who make this argument are strangely blind to the fact that a con-

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tract to be binding must be a free and voluntary contract. No contract can be properly described as free and voluntary when one party to the contract is under practical duress. If an employer were to shut an employee up in prison and starve him into signing a contract, no court would enforce the contract. It is not necessary that an employee should be in prison to be under an effective duress. The ties that bind the laboring man to his family, not to speak of the necessity for food for himself, surround him with invisible walls as strong as prison walls, and often compel him to submit to such terms as the employer may dictate.

Nearly all the States have usury laws which interfere with the freedom of contract so far as interest is concerned. Why? Because "the borrower is servant to the lender," and is not in a position to make a free and voluntary contract. Even if the borrower suggests the rate of interest and pleads for the money as a personal favor, the lender cannot collect more than the legal rate. The same arguments that are employed to defend a usury law can be employed to defend a law that limits the hours of labor. To say that the employer can arbitrarily dictate terms to the employee offends against every enlightened conscience. The right to live, which is included by the Declaration of Independence among the inalienable rights of man, must not be construed merely as the right to a bare existence; it must be construed according to the rules that are applied to others. It means that the laboring man has a right to live and to labor under such conditions as will enable him to make a reasonable use of his own life, and also to make suitable provision for those dependent upon him.

## INJUNCTION OR ARBITRATION?

And this brings us to the disputes between capital and labor. How can they be settled? Not by the capitalist alone, because his selfishness may lead him to take advantage of the necessities of his employees and exact from them too large a proportion of the joint product of labor and capital. Neither can the questions in dispute be left entirely to the employees, for they may be biased in their own favor, and may insist upon terms which are unjust. Arbitration, like the court of justice, recognizes the selfishness and the bias that are liable to exist on both sides, and substitutes an impartial board for the weighing of the evidence to be presented. It is not necessary that the finding of the arbitration board should be binding upon either party. As a rule, public opinion would follow the finding, and public opinion is a very potent force in settling such difficulties. The very fact that either party could compel the other to go before an arbitration board would in itself prevent many disagreements, because neither side would risk arbitration unless convinced that its contention was just.

The writ of injunction is now employed to coerce employees into accepting the terms of employers. Its purpose is to deprive the laboring man of trial by jury, and the Democrats have favored, and must still favor, legislation which will deprive the courts of the power to thus suspend jury trial; but a permanent arbitration board would greatly lessen the number of strikes and thus mitigate the evils of government by injunction. Arbitration is, therefore, an urgent need. How else can capital and labor be brought into harmonious co-operation? Surely this is a question that appeals to the conscience of the people. Even more, it is a question which involves more distinctly and directly than any other question the Christian doctrine of brotherhood.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" is a platform upon which all ought to be willing to stand, and it presents the only solution of the question between those who toil and those who employ. It presents also a rule which will solve all other economic and sociological questions, for there is not an evil now complained of that does not grow out of the violation of this doctrine of brotherly love.

## THE MONEY QUESTION

The money question, while not so acute as it was a few years ago, can never be entirely ignored. The controversy between those who advocate the

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gold standard and those who advocate bimetallism is not so much a contest between two metals or between two monetary systems as it is a contest between two elements of society. Just now we are enjoying, unexpectedly to all, the benefits of a largely increased production of gold, and, strangely enough, the Republican party, whose leaders denied in 1896 that we needed any more metallic money, is reaping the political benefits that have followed a larger circulating medium. That party has attributed to its tariff legislation the blessings that have directly and naturally followed an increase in the amount of money.

Bimetallism was not a new scheme invented as a panacea for the hard times; it is an old and long-established system. Gold and silver have been in use as money for thousands of years. There have been changes in the relative production of the precious metals more sudden and more important than that which we have recently witnessed, and bimetallism has survived them all. There is nothing in human history to justify the fear that all of the gold and all of the silver now being produced or likely to be produced would give a larger volume of standard money than the world needs. The trouble is that the governments of the world are too largely in the control of the creditor classes, and the creditor classes are much more anxious to prevent a fall in the purchasing power of the dollar than they are to prevent a rise in the purchasing power of the dollar. This solicitude is very natural, because the holders of fixed investments profit when dollars rise and suffer when dollars fall, just as the owner of land profits when land rises and suffers when land falls in market price. If our Government is in the control of those whose sympathies are with the money-changer, the money-owner, and the holder of fixed investments, all of our financial legislation will tend to the conservation of the interests of these classes, regardless of the effect of such legislation upon the public. The Democratic party cannot hope to make any progress toward other reforms as long as it takes the capitalistic side of the money question, because the men who are willing to allow the financiers to run the Treasury will, by the same process of reasoning, permit the trusts to control business enterprises, and turn the employees over to the control of the employers.

Legislation which increases the purchasing power of the dollar transfers to the pockets of the holders of fixed investments money which belongs to the wealth-producers, and is merely larceny under the form of the law. Mr. Blaine pointed this out with great clearness; Mr. Carlisle, who afterwards became Secretary of the Treasury, called attention to it; and Mr. McKinley, in 1891, after he had been in Congress and before he became President, declared that legislation which made "money scarcer and therefore dearer" also made "money the master and all things else the servant."

The principles of monetary science have not changed, and no amount of delusion can change them. The Democratic party cannot afford to alter its policies to suit those who will not think upon this subject, nor can it afford to take the side of those whose sympathies are against the masses.

It is natural that those who take the side of the financiers on the question of metallic money should favor National banks of issue, notwithstanding the gross favoritism that the Government now shows them. It is also natural that those who accept the advice of the financiers should advocate an asset currency, for with the payment of the National debt the National bank notes must be retired unless some other basis is found for them. The consistency that we find in the individual we find also in the party, and those who favored the gold standard when the dollar was rising very consistently favor the turning over of the Treasury Department to the banks which are now making several millions a year out of the generosity of the officials who are in charge of the Government money. Whenever the administration gives a pecuniary advantage to the banks, it gives it at an expense to the public, and we have at least one recorded instance in which political service was referred to by a bank official as a reason for the bestowment of such favors upon

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the bank. The administration has no moral right to use the Government money or the Government authority for the pecuniary advantage of the financiers, and it cannot do so without trespassing upon the rights of the people at large.

## A LARGE ARMY AND NAVY NOT NEEDED

It would carry this article beyond the space assigned to it to discuss all of the questions which are before the public. A large navy, aside from unnecessarily increasing the burden of taxation, menaces the peace of the Nation. Instead of bringing security to the Nation, it is more apt to involve the Nation in foreign complications. The same spirit which leads to the building of a large navy leads to the use of it upon slight provocation; and those who profit financially by the construction of large navies and those who occupy life positions in taking care of large navies, recognizing their burdensomeness, will be tempted to create use for them in order to justify their existence. It is as reasonable to expect to promote law and order by increasing the number of revolvers carried in a community as it is to expect to promote international peace by rivalry in the building of navies. In a little volume entitled "Letters Written by a Chinese Official" the author takes the Christian nations to task for professing a worship of the "Prince of Peace" and at the same time outstripping the heathen nations in warlike expenditures. How can we lead the world toward peace while vying with the fighting nations in our preparations for slaughter?

All the objections that can be made to a large navy can be made to a large army, while many of the arguments in favor of a large navy are entirely wanting from the defense of a large military establishment. The fact that the standing army has been more than doubled in the last eight years must, sooner or later, excite an effective protest. An increase of more than fifty millions a year in the expense of the military establishment can be justified only by urgent necessity, and no reasons have been advanced in support of the increase. If the increase is due to a fear of labor troubles, the question at once arises, Why not deal with labor troubles through the Department of Justice rather than through the War Department? If our colonial policy is urged as an excuse for the increase, then this increased expense must be charged to imperialism. Fifty millions for six years would amount to three hundred million dollars, whereas the Republican leaders contend that imperialism has cost us less than two hundred millions. As a matter of fact, a large part of the increase in the expenditures of both the army and the navy should be charged to imperialism, for without imperialism the Republican party would not dare to stand sponsor for the increase.

## IMPERIALISM

The question of imperialism raises an issue that is clearly a moral one. Without considering the expense which imperialism imposes upon the taxpayers for the benefit of a few officials and for the benefit of a few exploiting corporations; without considering the injustice always done to helpless subjects by a foreign guardian; without considering the violation of our fundamental principles of government involved in imperialism; without considering the certain reaction of our imperialistic conduct upon our National character, it is sufficient at this time to point out the fact that imperialism attacks the most vital Christian principle—namely, the propagation of good by example. But two methods have been employed in all the world by those who have sought to benefit others—namely, force and example. Force, when employed by a guardian against a ward, has always been defended on the ground of benevolence; but where the guardian has been a nation it has always asserted the right to fix the price to be paid by the ward. In the very beginning of our imperialistic venture Secretary Gage announced that "philanthropy and five per cent. would go hand in hand" in the Philippines. In his speech as permanent Chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1900, Senator Lodge said:

> We make no hypocritical pretense of being interested in the Philippines solely on

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account of others. While we regard the welfare of those people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first. We see our duty to ourselves as well as to others. We believe in trade expansion. By every legitimate means within the province of government and constitution we mean to stimulate the expansion of our trade and open new markets.

It is evident, therefore, that the employment of force in the Philippines is intended to promote our good as well as the good of the Filipinos, and who will say that the hoped-for good to ourselves may not blind us to the real welfare of the Filipinos? The Bible plan of propagating good is by example: "So live that others seeing your good works may be constrained to glorify your Father." If this were changed to suit imperialistic methods, it would read: "So enforce your views upon others that they will do as you want them to do, and then charge them whatever you think fair for teaching them not to resist your forcible advice." We are in our conduct denying the universality of our own theory of government. Instead of inspiring in the Filipinos a love of our ideals and our principles of government, we constantly furnish them an opportunity to point out the difference between our professions and our practices. Certainly the Philippine question presents an opportunity for the Democratic party to address itself with success to the religious instincts of the American people and to the moral perceptions of the country.

The time is ripe for an appeal to the moral sense of the Nation; the time is ripe for the arraignment of the plutocratic tendencies of the Republican party before the bar of public conscience; and the Democratic party was never in better position than now to make this appeal. If adversity has taught it to rest its case upon arguments addressed to the head and heart of the Nation, then great good will be extracted from the grievous defeat recently suffered.

# The Governor-Elect of Minnesota

By Worth C. Harder

THE election of John A. Johnson, the Democratic nominee for Governor in Minnesota, was one of the great surprises of the campaign. By a majority never before equaled in the State (140,000), Mr. Roosevelt was declared the choice of the people for President; and on the same day Mr. Johnson, a Democrat, was selected as chief executive of the State by a majority of over 10,000 votes.

In many ways the election of a Democratic Governor in Minnesota was more remarkable than the election of either Mr. Douglas in Massachusetts or Mr. Folk in Missouri. With nothing to commend him to the people but his vigorous personality and his clean record in public and private life, he made a fight which has never been equaled in the State and seldom in the country.

Mr. Johnson was unknown to the great majority of the people of the State when he was prevailed upon to take the nomination for Governor. He had not the benefit of wide advertising which made Mr. Douglas known in almost every household; nor of a record such as carried Mr. Folk along on the wave of popular sentiment. Only twice in its history of fifty years as a State had a Democrat been placed in the Governor's chair in Minnesota. Two years ago the Republican party carried Governor Van Sant to victory by a majority of over sixty thousand; and with a Presidential election to bring out the full vote, a larger majority was looked for this year. Under these circumstances the Democratic nomination looked like an empty honor; and with any other man than John A. Johnson at the head of the ticket it would probably have been such. From the day he accepted the nomination, after begging that some one else be given the honor, he was the personal director of a fight which has resulted in complete success to his efforts.

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Mr. Johnson is the youngest Governor Minnesota has ever had, and he is likewise her first native-born Governor. Like John Lind, the preceding Democratic Governor, he is of Scandinavian parentage, both his father and mother having been born in Sweden. The story of his struggle for an education, and for the maintenance of the large family which was intrusted to his care when a mere boy, reads like fiction. In the strictict sense of the term, Mr. Johnson is a self-educated man. Of broad views, possessed of a thorough knowledge of history and literature, and of a personal magnetism which makes his utterances carry great weight, the Governor-elect appears to be the product of the most thorough schooling. In all American history, however, it is probable that none has risen from more humble circumstances or through more bitter adversity than has Mr. Johnson. His schooling ended when he was twelve years old. The studies which he had completed at that time were not above those taught in the fifth grade of the public school. At the age of fourteen years he had become the sole support of his mother and the family, which, with himself, numbered five children. He worked for some time in a general store for ten dollars a month, and then went into a drug-store in his native town, where for twelve years he served as a clerk. The thousands who greeted the young man on his tour of Minnesota during the campaign knew little of the struggle which had marked the early years of his life. They saw only a tall, slender, earnest-looking man, with a youthful face lined by hard study, who spoke to them directly, without flourish, and with a volume of meaning in every phrase.

Mr. Johnson was born in 1859 in St. Peter, his present home. He was naturally of a studious turn of mind, and during the years in which he worked as a boy clerk he spent much of his day time and all of his evenings in study. What he lost in school he more than made up in the home study and in the knowledge which he gained of men and affairs. He is a man of great personal charm, who makes friends easily and holds them always. His campaign, which resulted in his election, was made largely upon his own personality. He visited nearly every county in the State, and wherever he went he left the people who heard him wondering what was the charm about the man that made them feel they had become his personal friends. They could not see the early struggles for an education and for the support of a family which had developed and built up a sturdy character; but they saw the results of these struggles in the personality which commanded instant respect and attention.

On the stump the new Governor was an ideal campaigner. Tall and erect, he approached his audience without introduction, and proceeded always to the discussion of the most vital topics. Mr. Johnson is not a flowery speaker. He cannot rise to oratorical flights which carry his hearers off their feet, but which do not bear inspection in cold print. His speeches were direct and to the point.

In 1889 Mr. Johnson entered the newspaper business, buying a half interest in a paper in his home town. He became a figure of considerable prominence, and in 1900 was selected as the most available candidate for the State Senate, and was elected by a good majority. This service was practically his only introduction into public life before he became the Democratic nominee for Governor. His record there was beyond reproach, and was of great value to him in his campaign. Of far more value, however, was the personal life of the man.

The attitude taken by Mr. Johnson in his campaign, and his declarations upon the stump, stamp him as a man who will be a friend of inestimable value to the educational systems of the State. Two things he has said he will do. He has declared that he will remove the department of public instruction from the influence of politics; and he has declared that he will oppose any bill to handicap the State University by placing its administrative branches under the State Board of Control, which now manages the financial affairs of the institution.

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# Decentralization in the Post-Office

By Thomas L. James

As most of our readers know, the author of this article has not only filled the office of Postmaster-General of the United States, but also served as Postmaster of the City of New York. In both these official positions he necessarily had the best possible opportunity for observing the relations between the post-offices of the great cities and the Department at Washington. That the head of such an enormous business concern as is the New York City Post-Office, with its gross receipts last year of thirteen and a half million of dollars and its billion of letters handled, should be so tied up in red tape that he cannot open a branch office or spend moderate sums of money without the delay and vexation attendant upon reference to the Department, indicates a defect that requires immediate remedy. What that remedy should be, in Mr. James's view, is told below.—THE EDITORS.

AT the time of writing there is a good deal of discussion in the newspapers about the vacant office of Postmaster at New York City. It is generally agreed that New York's Postmaster ought to be a man of extraordinary executive and business ability—one who could successfully manage a great railroad or one of the departments of the Government. As a result of my experience, it seems to me that the man wanted is not merely a postmaster, but a Deputy Postmaster-General residing in the city and exercising authority over Greater New York and its environs.

In the present New York postal district (Manhattan and the Bronx) there are no fewer than 182 sub-stations. In the environing district there are 737 offices that might be taken under New York's charge, and there is also the great independent office of Brooklyn. The control of these offices, as well as of New York's postal business, would make plenty of work for a Deputy Postmaster-General. There are good reasons why, as a matter of administrative efficiency, it is desirable to have an official of that grade specially assigned to New York in place of an ordinary postmaster.

Managing New York's post-office is no small matter. It is a bigger business than ruling over some of the world's smaller countries. The gross receipts during the fiscal year 1903 were $13,583,023. The total revenues of the five republics of Paraguay, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras amounted only to $11,589,429 in 1902. The revenue of the kingdom of Greece is only about $100,000 in excess of that of the New York post-office, and New York will undoubtedly pull ahead next year.

The volume of postal business done by the office, which serves only Manhattan and the Bronx, not Greater New York, exceeds that done by all the offices of any State in the Union. As opposed to New York City's $13,583,023, Illinois, including Chicago, can show gross receipts amounting only to $12,386,774; Pennsylvania, with Philadelphia, $10,227,898; Massachusetts, with Boston, $7,174,460; Ohio, $6,885,792; and Missouri, $5,343,818. All the post-offices in the twenty-one States of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming, taken together with all those in the seven Territories (New Mexico, Arizona, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii), have only a total of $11,205,599 in gross receipts—$2,377,424 less than the sum taken in by the New York office.

The sums which pass through the hands of the clerks in the New York post-office far exceed the gross receipts. Nearly $270,000,000 was handled in the money-order department last year, an increase of $46,000,000 odd over 1902. Nearly a billion letters passed through the office, and over thirteen millions of registered letters and parcels, all presumably containing money and valuables, were handled in the registry department.

From these figures it is obvious that



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the New York post-office certainly does require at its head a man of extraordinary executive ability. But is there adequate inducement for such a man to accept the position in these days when executive ability commands a high price in money and in power? The salary is only $8,000, and the postmaster at New York has no more independent power than the postmaster at Four Corners, Iowa, or Dallas Divide, Colorado. It is doubtful whether he has as much independent authority to-day as his predecessor, Sebastian Bauman, had in 1786, when the first published accounts of the New York post-office showed its revenue to be $2,789.84.

The manager of this great business is tied hand and foot by red tape. He can do practically nothing without first obtaining permission from Washington. He cannot hire an extra man or spend a dollar outside of his appropriation without a voluminous correspondence and much delay. By the time the necessary authority has been obtained the need may have passed away, but in the meantime a portion of the staff may have been overworked, or the public may have suffered serious inconvenience.

New York is growing with marvelous rapidity, and the post-office business is naturally growing with it. The net revenue in 1903—$8,790,178—showed an increase of 9.80 per cent. over that of 1902. But the Postmaster is not able to keep pace with the growth of the city, as a good business man should, simply because he is shackled by the red tape of Washington. If a district suddenly becomes thickly populated, by reason of improved transportation facilities or from some other cause, there is sure to be an insistent public demand for more and better post-offices there. The Postmaster cannot provide them, however great the need and the profit that would accrue. He must ask the Department at Washington for the thousand or so dollars necessary. Ten to one, he is told that there is no appropriation, and he must wait for a year.

A man who is deemed competent to run a business which takes in thirteen and a half millions a year ought surely to be trusted to spend a few hundreds or thousands in opening branch offices here and there when they are needed.

A post-office is badly required in the Wall Street district. The late Postmaster asked permission to open one, at a cost of $36,500. "No money," Washington replied. But the need was so great, the demand so urgent, that an effort is to be made to secure a special appropriation from Congress when it meets. This is an exceptional concession.

The New York office makes up its requests at the beginning of each fiscal year. Four or five months, possibly more, pass before the necessary authority and allowances are obtained from Washington. In the meantime the public service usually suffers. What is true of New York is true, more or less, of all other parts of the country, but especially of the big cities.

Centralization has been brought to its finest point in the United States Post-Office Department. The evils of the system are most plainly to be seen in the auditing of the accounts. There are 74,169 post-offices in the United States, and the accounts of all those offices have to be audited in Washington. The result is that a year will pass before discrepancies are discovered, especially in the money-order accounts. A few years ago a money-order clerk in the Madison Square office in New York defaulted to the amount of $2,000. He continued his defalcations for over a year, while the auditing of his accounts was in abeyance. If they had been audited locally and promptly, his long career of theft would have been nipped in the bud, and most of the lost money would have been saved to the taxpayers. Such cases as this are happening constantly. They are the natural result of the system.

When Samuel Osgood was Postmaster-General in 1789, and the gross revenue of the Department was not much over $30,000, centralization may have been a proper and efficient system. But it is not a good one as practiced in 1904, when the revenue exceeds $134,000,000 and there are 74,169 offices to control.

The various branches of the Department in Washington do not keep pace

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with the needs of the localities. The work is always in arrears. The public inevitably suffers. Irritating delay in the transaction of urgent business, a certain measure of inefficiency, a failure to respond to the just demands of the public, a great deal of avoidable defalcation in the money-order department—these are only some of the evils of excessive centralization.

New York City, of course, suffers more than other places because of its immense postal business; but the Postmaster at New York is not in such an unenviable position as the Postmaster at San Francisco, or the Postmasters at other important points more remote from Washington. These men are called upon almost daily to make decisions on matters of moment which they have really no authority to decide. If they refer to Washington, they know that the answer will come too late to be of service; if they decide for themselves, as any man in their position should be at liberty to do, they know that they will probably be hauled over the coals. They are between the devil and the deep sea. If they refrain from usurping authority vested in the officials at Washington, the public will complain of them and they may conceivably lose their positions.

My suggestion is, therefore, that a start should be made in relaxing the excessive centralization of the Department by the appointment of a Deputy Postmaster-General to reside in New York and settle New York's postal matters on the spot. It would be necessary for him to have power to decide practically all the matters now referred to Washington.

A post-office which does far more postal business than twenty-eight States and Territories surely deserves such a concession, but nevertheless I would not suggest that this Deputy Postmaster-General should be limited in his authority to Manhattan and the Bronx. The area placed under his jurisdiction might with advantage include the whole of Greater New York and the surrounding populous districts. Brooklyn's postal receipts amount to $1,889,662. Then there are Long Island City, Jersey City, Hoboken, Newark, and scores of other cities and towns near by, which might well be included.

The area might take in the whole of New York State below Sullivan, Ulster, and Dutchess Counties, and also Hudson, Bergen, Passaic, Essex, Union, Morris, Somerset, and Middlesex Counties in New Jersey. Perhaps a small slice of Connecticut might be added. Even without it the Deputy Postmaster-General would have 737 post-offices to supervise besides the two great offices of New York and Brooklyn, to which his attention and energy would, of course, mainly be given. In Manhattan and the Bronx alone there are 2,885 regular postal clerks and 2,171 letter-carriers, besides the 182 substations with clerks in charge.

The appointment of a Deputy Postmaster-General in charge of this New York division, although in the nature of an experiment, would not be without precedent. There is already a Deputy Treasurer stationed in the metropolis, to the advantage alike of business men and of the revenue.

If the experiment proved to be successful, as I am sure it would, it should lead to the creation of other districts under authoritative heads. This would mean the decentralization of the Department, except for the all-important fact that each district head would be responsible to the head of the Department. The degree of authority to be intrusted to these executive officers would be a matter for careful consideration, but it ought to be enough to enable them to satisfy the legitimate demands of the public without irritating delays.

Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco, St. Louis, and New Orleans naturally suggest themselves as places which might form the governing points of other districts. The advantages of the new system would become so manifest after a brief trial that I am confident it would not be long before the whole country would be divided into postal districts, each under the charge of a man empowered to do things instead of asking Washington to do them. We should then have a system of "directoral posts" similar to the *Reichspostgebiet* of Germany, which is probably the most efficient postal system in the world.

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# The Comparative Exhibition

By Francis Raymond

A HUNDRED or more American paintings, some seventy French, fifteen or twenty Dutch, and two or three English now hang in the galleries of the American Fine Arts Society under the title "Comparative Exhibition of Native and Foreign Art." The title marks a significant recognition. And its epithets are chosen with discrimination. *Comparative* is not *competitive*. The visitor is stimulated to judge our pictures, not as being American contributions to an international contest, for no such contest can exist, but as being art; though he may go a step further and endeavor, by a nice recollection of the peculiar demands of American atmosphere, landscape, and temperament, to define the nature of our painters' sensitiveness to their environment and their personal and national quality.

The collectors of this exhibition—Mr. John Harsen Rhoades, Mr. William T. Evans, Mr. Frederic Bonner, and their fellow-amateurs—are adapted both by their taste and their practical intelligence to make such a gathering and grouping of pictures as will emphasize the unasserting virtues which belong to American painting in its finest estate. Mural paintings, unfortunately, are excluded by their size; portraits, with a few exceptions, because they present special problems; *genre* paintings because those of the last hundred years at least do not appeal to a taste which has been enriched and refined by the work of the colorists. And this is a collection for colorists. The one still life, Chase's "English Cod," illustrates this fact perfectly. It is dextrous from every point of view, but its congeniality with the rest of the exhibition lies in the richness of the white cod flesh in the sunlight, in the subtle, palpitating blues of the fish that lie in the shadows, in the fullness and fineness of the whole tone of the composition. Wyatt Eaton's "Reverie"—one of the few portraits—is another case in point. There are ease and distinction in both the sitter and the draughtsman, but what subtly draws the attention of the visitor as he first glances about the gallery is the fine sensuousness of the art which reconciles coolness and warmth of color and all the nicely varied textures into one velvet and distinguished whole. These two pictures reveal the trend of taste in the American collection. It includes such disparate painters as Winslow Homer and Arthur B. Davies; but, on the one hand, no severe standards of drawing have kept out the man to whom a picture is primarily a picturesque composition of beautiful colors under changing lights; on the other, even among the draughtsmen no atom of color has been willingly admitted which is not secure of respect.

The collection of foreign paintings seems more casual. It betrays no definite instinct of inclusion and exclusion. If one excepts the splendid luxuriance of Monticelli's seven compositions and the skillful placing of Monet's one example, which with remarkable comprehensiveness suggests and recalls the possibilities and resources of his art, there is no trenchant impression produced by the foreign exhibit. Nor is it eclectic. A number of painters are represented by fine and distinctive single examples, but the abundant contributions of Diaz, Daubigny, Corot, and Delacroix savor of tautology. Rousseau is here without his glorious sunset reds and dramatic shadows, and perhaps Troyon alone is suffered to manifest himself with any versatility.

These two hundred pictures are the scattered illustrations of too long a period—three-quarters of a century at least—to lead the reader into any inevitable generalizations. But to any one who recalls the foreign displays which New York has so lavishly made during the last decade, tentative comparisons will suggest themselves. One almost inevitable impression is of the extreme sincerity of the best American painting.



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Compared with the superb richness of Monticelli, one may mention painters—Blakelock and Hunt, for instance—who seem somewhat wanting, but their defect is relative and negative, and not a pretense. Typical American sincerity has none of the arid literalism which with a certain school of British critics passes for truth. But it is true, nevertheless. There is, for instance, in Tryon's fidelity to his conviction of beauty and the innate exigencies of his subject, a disciplinary value, a sense of rectitude that one may claim as distinctively national, and this, with the seriousness of his problems, makes his work grow in meaning with each observation. If none of his countrymen have been impelled into quite the same manner of painstakingness, many of them in other ways disclose an equally unquestionable sincerity. No doubt we have our sensationalists, but does sensationalism ever show itself in the choice spirits among our home-keeping artists as it sometimes shows itself in the magnificent competence of great Frenchmen—an inevitable element of their power? And the factitious effects, the smartness and cheapness which one must admit appear pretty often even in such eminent authors as Lowell and Holmes, find themselves excluded from a whole circle of American painters, and those the most distinguished.

The occasional taunt that American painting is lacking in originality may seem less clever after one has examined such works as Ranger's "Cornfield" or Murphy's "Hillside Farm" or the group of canvases by Tryon. The individuality here is not of that dominating sort which leads to the creating of schools; it lies rather in the nice adjustment of the painter's local sense to the inobvious beauty of a simple landscape and the subtler qualities of American atmosphere. In such fine work as this the painter feels his way, insinuates himself, into a local habitation and a name. And his name, in consequence, is a *nuance*, not a symbol of leadership. One may wonder whether the mannerisms into which our most conscientious painters sometimes fall are not, after all, the defect of this same virtue. Henner paints canvas after canvas with an indefatigable sense of responsibility to public expectation; Diaz boils the pot with a glowing cheerfulness that is not without its charm; they never grow tired of their own competence. But Dewing, one may hazard a guess, restricted by the taste he has created to a limited form of activity, is nevertheless impelled to continue developing till the fineness of his manner necessarily becomes superfineness and the distinction of his figures verges on the extraordinary.

A glance through the galleries confirms again what we all know, that the tentativeness which at its best is one of the chief graces of our national art becomes in its less happy manifestations timidity, incertitude, amateurship. But these defects may serve as foils to the pictures which have achieved their place. From work which betrays the painter's sensitiveness to every possibility of misstep or inaptitude one will turn with the fuller pleasure to such large, competent painting as Inness's "Wood-Gatherers." After examining an indecisive or oversubordinated foreground, one can better appreciate the powerful but minute agency with which La Farge centers and assures to the eye a great expanse of but slightly varied meadow. All comparisons, however, are but speculative. Pictures are solid facts, and those of this collection are exceptional ones. Almost invariably the best American painting goes directly from the painter to the private collection. This exhibition recalls some of them. Childe Hassam's "Arno" and Wyatt Eaton's "Reverie" are incomparably superior to anything they have shown in recent exhibitions. It is seldom that one can see such landscape work of La Farge's as his "Paradise Valley." There is hardly a painter who is not to be seen many degrees above his usually accessible work. It needs some such exhibition as this to make one realize how insignificant most current shows are and how secret are the ways of American art.

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# Dick

By J. G. Clinkscales

RICHARD HARRIS was his name, but we called him Dick. He was a negro—a copper-colored negro—and was my first teacher. Not many miles from Abbeville, South Carolina, sleep the ashes of this slave teacher, for whose memory I have the profoundest respect. In that school there were no rules or regulations. I went and came as I pleased, learned when I felt like it, and declined to do so when I saw fit. That one teacher never scolded, never whipped me, was never sarcastic, but was gentle, kind, sympathetic, tender, helpful, and—I loved him.

Dick was an unusually bright negro, and was a house-boy of such cleverness as attracted the attention of visitors at my home more than once. At the early age of thirteen he moved about the house with the dignified bearing of a veteran butler.

Just one year later this bright, promising lad was stricken with typhoid fever. After a lingering illness of several months, Dick recovered, but had no use of his legs—the poor fellow never walked again. But by this fearful fever that robbed the unfortunate boy of the use of his lower limbs, his mental faculties were unimpaired.

Unfit now for the office of house-boy, Dick was, after a while, duly installed as general supervisor over the back yard, in which played a half-hundred pickaninnies. Endowed with good judgment and still possessing the use of his arms, he was proclaimed dictator in his realm and authorized to flog his subjects whenever expedient or necessary. And woe betide the little darkey that broke any rule and then came within reach of Dick's good right arm!

Among the little negroes over whom Dick had authority could be found every day a white boy. Together the white boy and the black ones played, wrestled, fought, roamed the fields, rode the mules, broke the steers, hung the cats, stole fruit from the orchard, and buried the little chickens after having had several songs and a funeral oration over them.

Dick spent the long summer days sitting under the spreading branches of a large oak in the yard. To while away the time, he drew in the sand, with a sharpened stick, pictures of everything he saw. One day a piece of a newspaper flitted near him. He grasped it and drew the large letters at the head of the sheet. One of my sisters passing by, he asked her to name the letters for him. The child, not thinking she was violating one of the laws of the State, named the letters and pronounced the words for him. With this key Dick unlocked many of the mysteries of that sheet, and persistently worked away until he learned to read. The fellow caught other members of the family off guard occasionally and got little helps that enabled him to learn the alphabet perfectly—then he had plain sailing. Bribing one of the house servants to bring him a well-worn copy of Webster's blue-back speller, Dick was soon spelling *ba, ca, da;* in a few hours he reached *baker*, then *ambition*, then on to *incomprehensibility*. In this batch of big words, in spite of his persistency, Dick stuck fast for a while, but not for long. A little suggestion, just a hint, was gotten from an unsuspecting member of the family, and on through the book the wily fellow went. Dick fairly reveled in the stories and pictures found in the back part of that time-honored little book. He spelled out and pronounced many times every word in the book by sight, and then spelled and pronounced every one by heart.

When it was ascertained in the "big house" that Dick could read, my parents were amazed. When they heard him read, and learned from his own lips how the task was accomplished, they rather approved than condemned. My mother ordered good books and papers to be put into his hands, and Dick became an omnivorous reader. Though robbed of the power of locomotion and doomed



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to sit all his life, the little blue speller had opened up to the unfortunate man a new world, and Richard Harris had a fuller, larger life than the hundred fellow-slaves that were round about him, but behind him and beneath him.

Like some distinguished men of the superior race, Dick learned to write by marking in the sand with a pointed stick, and on boards and planks with bits of charcoal. All this when I was a small boy—before I reached the school age.

When Dick thought I was old enough to have my attention turned to more serious things than killing cats, preaching funeral orations over dead chickens, and scaring the old negro "maumas," he undertook to teach me to read. He had up-hill work. To learn to read in a book was too slow a business for a boy of my disposition, with such a wonderful world all around me. Dick persisted. Finding I had no ear for the sound of the letters, nor for the hollow, senseless *ba*, *ca*, *da*, he turned to the back of the book, and tried the effect of the pictures and stories on me. But what cared I for the milkmaid and her spilled milk? Hadn't Jack and I tied a plow-line across old Aunt Dinah's door-step one night, and didn't we see her fall sprawling on the floor as she tried to enter? And didn't we hear her "cuss"?

And who cared for the mastiff? We could have a dog-fight any time we wanted it. We could beat that. We had done it. Hadn't we tied a tin can to old Croner's tail, and hadn't the old dog alarmed the whole plantation by running around the yard and finally through the "big house" with the whole pack of twelve hounds close upon his heels? No, sir; no books for me—I didn't have time.

But Dick persisted. He coaxed, persuaded, then bribed me to learn the alphabet. And he succeeded. I did learn the letters, and learned to read indifferently, to the infinite delight of my self-appointed teacher.

Dick might never have succeeded in this undertaking to teach me to read but for the fact that it was war times (1863), and my brother was with Lee in Virginia. Dick loved his young master, and read every line of the papers, that he might keep up with the movements of the armies. My mother's face was often clouded now. She had but two sons—one was fighting under a Confederate flag, and the other was as reckless and mischievous as the meanest mule on the plantation. Dick appealed to my better nature. "Learn to read," said he, "so you can read about your bubber out yonder fightin' the Yankees." I did learn to read, but not well before the last gun was fired, the last roll was called, and the boys in gray—some of them—came trooping back to their homes they had left just four years before.

In 1864 I entered the little mountain school, just a mile from my home. In the preparation of my lessons Dick gave me great assistance. I soon learned to read after a fashion, and in the second term was introduced to the mysteries of arithmetic and grammar—Smith's English Grammar. These subjects we studied together, Dick and I—Dick because he loved them; I, because I had to.

"We say of a horse," said Mr. Smith, "when he is fat he is in a good case." Well do I remember how Dick laughed at that. Both of us knew something of horses—fat ones and lean ones—but neither of us could make out what the condition of a horse had to do with the matter under consideration. "John's cap. John's is a proper noun, masculine gender, third person, singular number, possessive case, possessing or owning cap." In that we thought we got a little light—each of us had a cap. Dick's was made of rabbit-skins, mine of Confederate gray.

Dick learned the numerous rules sooner than I did, and could parse much more cleverly. In this part of my work he was of great assistance to me. While I was away at school, he read the papers and selected difficult, knotty sentences, over which he and I worried our brain in the late afternoons. I have since then wondered at times whether the fault was always with Dick and me, or with the man who wrote the sentences.

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But one day the teacher announced to my class that every one of us must write a composition to read before the school on the following Friday afternoon. Horror of horrors! The thought of it made cold chills chase up and down my back. I always went to Dick with my boyhood's troubles, but with this I made haste to seek his advice and assistance. Dick did not fail me.

Fortunately or unfortunately, the teacher had allowed us to write on a subject of our own choosing. After a long time in jumping from one subject to another, with Dick's assistance I selected one and determined to stick to it. So the work of composing and writing began. Dick gave me a sentence, which I wrote down on my slate; then he gave me another, and another, until nearly the whole of one side of my slate was covered. Thinking it sounded too well to have emanated from the brain of a boy of my age and tastes, I said, in all seriousness: "Be careful, Dick, you are making it too good—Miss Pennell will catch up with me." The good fellow laughed immoderately. Dick had an abiding sense of humor, and an eye and ear that never failed to catch the ludicrous. "Rub it out, then," he said, "and let's try it again." We did try it again. This time Dick modified his language, used simpler words, and brought the whole thing within the range of the possibilities of a child of my age. After a while the slate was again covered with sentences. When I had pronounced it "done" and had drawn a long breath of relief (what labor is more trying to a small boy than the effort he makes in writing his first composition?), Dick looked at me, with a twinkle in his eye, and said, with an intonation of voice that I can never forget, "Do you think that is right?" "Is what right?" I answered promptly, not dreaming what he had reference to. "Is it right to fool your teacher and make her think you made that up?" I got his meaning. The matter was discussed in all its phases, and ended in a second cleaning of my slate. Dick advised me then to go off by myself and try to do the work unassisted. I took his advice, and, crawling into a covered wagon in the yard, fought it out all by myself. Still down to this day I have a distinct recollection of making a desperate effort to reproduce the thoughts and words just as they were before the slate was cleaned the second time. That was a great composition. It sticks. I have it now, not in manuscript, but in my mind, in my heart. I paid the price. It cost me anxiety, heartache, sweat, tears. No wonder I have it.

My admiration for Dick and his devotion for me grew stronger as the years passed by. I loved him for what he had been and was to me, and he loved me because the very recklessness of my youth appealed in a peculiar way to him. After I had grown to manhood, and had spent four years at college, Dick read to me through many long winter evenings. I do not hesitate to say that he was one of the finest readers I ever knew. His mellifluous voice, so well modulated, had something about it that was musical. Besides, Dick was so bright, and withal so humble, it was to me a pleasure to hear him discuss any subject, whether of morals, religion, or politics. He was never tiresome—was always ready.

Some fifteen years ago, Richard Harris—my faithful, patient teacher—was gathered to his fathers.

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# Dr. van Dyke's Poems

THIS is the third volume of poems which Dr. van Dyke has issued, and in several ways the most important. It is, like Mr. Moody's "The Fire Bringer," a serious and sustained endeavor to practice the art of poetry at a time when the public seems to have lost interest in that art and its practitioners are satisfied, for the most part, with short excursions into a neglected field, but have no longer the faith to pitch their tents there. Beleaguered on every side by the allurements and forces of materialism, the lovers of art in these days are like dwellers in a besieged city in the Middle Ages; and the poets are few who venture to pass the gates and seek the ancient springs of life whence alone the thirst of the soul is assuaged. There are many who run their chances and bring back a cup of refreshment from the nearer fountains, but they are a little company who dare to seek the deeper springs and return with great jars brimming.

In this little company of the men who believe that society cannot live on bread alone Dr. van Dyke has established his membership by many infallible signs, and by no sign more convincing than this small volume of verse in many moods and meters. His faith in the reality and permanence of poetry in an age of steam-whistles and clashing hammers is shown in the writing of two long odes; for the ode is a form of verse almost extinct in a time which seems to have patience only for an occasional lyric. Mr. Carman wrote an ode on the coronation of Edward VII. which had distinct nobility of thought and a fine lift of wing; Mr. Moody's striking "Ode in Time of Hesitation" reinforced the hopes of those who wait eagerly for a revival of the higher spirit of literature in this country; but odes have rarely been written of late years, and, it may be suspected, still more rarely read.

In writing an ode on "Music" Dr. van Dyke put his faith and his art to a severe test; and both faith and art are justified by the result. It is elaborate like its great forerunner from the hand of Dryden; and in a comparison of the two odes the transition from the rhetorical to the vital and spiritual is strikingly brought out. The later ode is written in a variety of meters, chosen not arbitrarily, but matched with the thought and expressing in length, modulation, and rhythm the different musical forms, and is a happy translation of musical feeling, thought, and form into equivalent poetic feeling, thought, and form. It has the dignity always associated with this form of verse, and it has the quality of spiritual interpretation and a suggestion of intimate experience and relationship with the kindred art which it celebrates. The poem is strongest at the most critical points, where insight, grasp, and felicity of language are most essential; where the verse, in less vigorous hands, would escape into vague generalization. No section is more vital and individual in expression than that on "The Symphony," in which are found such striking lines as these:

> And every inarticulate prayer
> Beating about the depths of pain or bliss,
> Like some bewildered bird
> That seeks its nest but knows not where it is,
> And every dream that haunts, with dim delight,
> The drowsy hour between the day and night.

Many readers will turn first of all to the ode to "The God of the Open Air" with the instinctive feeling that a biographic strain will give the verse a note of intimacy and of self-revelation; nor will they be disappointed. In this fresh, free, and sustained flight of his imagination Dr. van Dyke has touched the sources of his strength in all forms of expression. The religious attitude towards nature has rarely found an utterance so poetic, and the free spirit of nature—the very soul of poetry—has rarely inspired so devout a prayer. It is a poem to make glad of heart those who long for a vision within church walls of the God who fashioned the ferns with such infinite and painstaking skill and set the mountain streams flowing to a

[1] *Music and Other Poems.* By Henry van Dyke. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.



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music as far removed from pietism as it is from greed and lust. It is a full acceptance of the unformulated but unchanging creed of a God whose living garment nature is; a full, free, joyous, heretical affirmation of faith in nature, not only as a "sequence of phenomena," but as a revelation of the Infinite:

These are the things I prize
And hold of dearest worth:
Light of the sapphire skies,
Peace of the silent hills,
Shelter of forests, comfort of the grass,
Music of birds, murmur of little rills,
Shadow of clouds that swiftly pass,
And, after showers,
The smell of flowers,
And of the good brown earth,—
And best of all, along the way, friendship and mirth.

The two legends are less significant, though they are happily phrased and moralized with a nice sense of artistic emphasis; the "Greetings" and "Inscriptions" are in that mood of generous fellowship, with skill of phrasing at once condensed, concise, and melodious, which has given "The Pathway to Peace" so wide a popularity. What could be happier in fusion of thought and art than these lines on "The Empty Quatrain:"

A flawless cup: how delicate and fine
The flowing curve of every jeweled line!
Look, turn it up or down, 'tis perfect still,
But holds no drop of life's heart-warming wine.

It is, however, in his lyrics and sonnets that Dr. van Dyke's poetic quality—his fresh imagination, his clear vision, his decisive individuality, his firm, delicate touch—reveal themselves most clearly; it is in these two forms, so far apart in their capacity of expression and in their demands on poetic skill, that he shows himself beyond all cavil the poet born. In that intimate mood out of which he often speaks with a simplicity and dignity that immediately justify themselves, this fine sonnet had its inspiration:

THE CHILD IN THE GARDEN

When to the garden of untroubled thought
I came of late, and saw the open door,
And wished again to enter, and explore
The sweet, wild ways with stainless bloom inwrought,
And bowers of innocence with beauty fraught,
It seemed some purer voice must speak before
I dared to tread that garden loved of yore,
That Eden lost unknown and found unsought.

Then just within the gate I saw a child—
A stranger-child, yet to my heart most dear;
He held his hands to me, and softly smiled
With eyes that knew no shade of sin or fear:
"Come in," he said, "and play awhile with me;
I am the little child you used to be."

How far removed from all the commonplaces of patriotism, how deep and moving, is the noble sonnet "Patria:"

PATRIA

I would not even ask my heart to say
If I could love some other land as well
As thee, my country, had I felt the spell
Of Italy at birth, or learned to obey
The charm of France, or England's mighty sway.
I would not be so much an infidel
As once to dream, or fashion words to tell,
What land could hold my love from thee away.

For like a law of nature in my blood
I feel thy sweet and secret sovereignty,
And woven through my soul thy vital sign.
My life is but a wave, and thou the flood;
I am a leaf and thou the mother-tree;
Nor should I be at all, were I not thine.

In such lyrics as "A Mile with Me," "Indian Summer," and "Reliance" there is a note of tenderness, of human fellowness, of large-heartedness rarely heard in a time when many have the courage of their convictions and few the courage of their emotions. These brave, manly utterances of a poet who loves his kind and is not ashamed to be counted one with them when so many practitioners and critics of literature hold art a thing apart from the common fortunes and interests, go far to explain the large affection in which Dr. van Dyke is held, and bring to the surface the elemental quality in his work of all kinds: its deep vitality.

In some important respects Dr. van Dyke is at variance with the prevailing mood of writers and critics; at variance most fortunately, let it be said, for the quality of his work and the chances of his future reputation. The reading world of to-day is divided largely among those who go with the crowd and believe that

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every new fashion is one of the eternal modes which Plato had in mind, suddenly revealed to up-to-date genius, and who hail Mr. Kipling's music-hall verse (not his real poetry) as the latest gift of the gods; those who believe that the chief end of man is the perfect attainment of academic precision and good form—to whom Professor Child is greater than the careless and unscholarly Chaucer, and Halliwell-Phillipps than the hasty and inaccurate Shakespeare; and, finally, the group of readers and critics who keep candles lighted at the shrine of Pater and scorn as food for the untrained multitude all writing that is not precious, recondite, esoteric, subtle, and intricate—to whom art is not clear and beautiful expression, but indirection, parenthesis, involution, and elliptical suggestion.

Now, the character of Dr. van Dyke's work comes out with striking clearness when it is seen that he fits into none of these categories, but stands firm, serene, and unabashed in the open, with the same passionate fellowship which has given the work of all greater poets its compelling power, and speaking the language which the human heart has always understood through all the confusion of dialects. Dr. van Dyke is rooted and grounded in his age, but his ideals and standards are of no age; he is a scholar if breadth and accuracy of knowledge in his field are scholarship, but he has never put acquirement—which is common property—in place of individual thought and feeling—which is personal possession and the only thing a man can give to his fellows; he is an admirable craftsman, but he has never confused his tools with his aims, mistaken his methods for his ends, or put technical skill in place of broad, clean, individual workmanship. His technique is always adequate, but never obtrusive; and he plays his instrument without display of manual dexterity. In these qualities those who believe that literature is first life and then art, that sanity is normal, that the greatest truths are most widely comprehensible, that nothing which God has thought or made is too rare or delicate for the children of His household, will take heart and comfort themselves; they will not hold all that he writes at an equal valuation, but they will find immense satisfaction in discovering that he never trifles with his art nor suffers in any mood the blight of cynicism or of complacency.

# Books of the Week

*This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."*

**Age of Innocence (The).** By Walter Russell. Illustrated by the Author. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. 272 pages. $2, net. (Postage, 18c.)

A series of engaging chapters written by one still in sympathy with childish joys. The serious business of fishing, snowballing, and sea-bathing, so all-important to active boys, takes the author's imagination captive, and he writes of long-gone sports as though he were once again a careless, jolly child. The broad pages are illustrated with many sketches of children, and full-page drawings show little faces in all the perfect beauty often denied to flesh and blood. The dedication to the Roosevelt children, as friends, will attract attention.

**Art Crafts for Beginners (The).** By Frank G. Sanford. Illustrated. The Century Co., New York. 5×7 in. 270 pages. $1.20, net. (Postage, 9c.)

A practical handbook on design, thin wood-working, pyrography, work in sheet-metal, leather, bead, bookbinding, simple pottery, basketry. It was prepared for "young people who feel the need of some art expression," for "those who wish to go further than is possible within the limits of the average school," but who are unable to enter an art academy, though the author takes honest pains to say study in such an academy would be better than learning from books. Teachers may find the volume useful, and people who follow the art crafts just for pleasure's sake. Instructions are clear and simple and the illustrations helpful.

**Bucking the Sagebrush.** By Charles J. Steedman. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 270 pages. $1.50, net.

This book gives a graphic and interesting description of cowboy life as it was in the seventies. The writer narrates the adventures of an "outfit" from Oregon to Wyo-

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ming. A large, clear map makes the route intelligible to the reader, and the many and good illustrations add still more to the attractions of this book.

**Baccarat.** By Frank Danby. Illustrated. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. 312 pages. $1.50.

**Cape Cod Folks.** By Sarah P. McL. Greene (Sally Pratt McLean). Illustrated. (New Edition.) De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston. 5½×8½ in. 337 pages. $1.50.

A new edition, with photogravure portrait of the author, thirty-two full-page half-tone engravings from designs by Clara E. Atwood and from original photographs, and twenty-five vignettes and an introduction by Miss Emma E. Brown. Mrs. Greene knows Cape Cod intimately, and the book is based on her experiences as a school-teacher in that section of Massachusetts. The memoranda which she took gradually shaped themselves into a story. Many readers will remember that the book was received with great interest by the reading public, and with considerable resentment by the people on Cape Cod, who felt, as people who are described in books always feel, that they were not sympathetically interpreted.

**Chinese Note-Book (My).** By Lady Susan Townley. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 338 pages. $3, net.

Lady Susan Townley gives to us in her modestly entitled "Note-Book" a history of China from early times to the present, an account of the "worship of heaven and of the three religions—Confucianism, Tauism, and Buddhism. She then instructs us concerning the Chinese language and the Chinese classics, and finally on the most interesting question of all, and one which very few ever adequately answer, "How is China Governed?" The second part of her book, however, more thoroughly deserves the title "Note-Book," for it gives to us intimate glimpses, such as might have been jotted down from day to day, concerning Pekin and Shanghai and the Yangtse River, concerning the Dragon Throne, the court ladies, the Imperial mausolea. Not to be ranked with the works of Dr. Arthur Smith, for instance, the present volume will take deserved place alongside the books of which we have now so many concerning the history, customs, and manners of that vast empire which includes four hundred millions of the world's population.

**Chronicles of Don Q (The).** By K. and Heseth Prichard. Illustrated by Stanley Wood. The J. P. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×7¾ in. 313 pages. $1.50.

In this book are related the doings of a desperado, who, with a band of other outlaws, kidnaps unlucky travelers and holds them to ransom. The scene of his exploits is a fastness in the Andalusian Mountains. The uniform excellence of these stories, their unfailing hold on the reader, the variety and ingenuity of plot they exhibit, remind one of the Sherlock Holmes stories. The accompanying illustrations and the general appearance of the volume are attractive.

**Choice of the Highest (The): City Temple Talks to Young Men.** By R. J. Campbell. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×8 in. 217 pages. $1, net.

Mr. Campbell has been so much written about that this volume of his sermons to young men needs hardly more said of it than that it is his. We do not think that it will be found inferior to the reputation that has gone before it. Indeed, it seems ideally good in adaptation to the preacher's purpose. It well enforces the thought that the highest type of manhood is religious.

**Cranford.** By Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell. Illustrated in Color. (The Series of English Idylls.) E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 255 pages. $2, net.

**Dai Nippon: A Study in National Evolution.** By Henry Dyer, C.E. M.S., D.Sc. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5¼×9 in. 450 pages. $3.50, net.

Reserved for later notice.

**Dandelion Cottage.** By Carroll Watson Rankin. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 312 pages. $1.50.

A capital story. It is refreshing to come upon an author who can tell us about real little girls, with sensible, ordinary parents, girls who are neither phenomenal nor silly. Four children set up housekeeping in a tumble-down cottage, furnishing it in exactly the delightful fashion they should, with odds and ends helped out by "making believe." The story is simple, wholesome, and withal most entertaining.

**Education in Religion and Morals.** By George Albert Coe, Ph.D. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×8 in. 434 pages. $1.35, net.

Reserved for later notice.

**Elisha the Man of God.** By R. Clarence Dodds, D.D. The Winona Publishing Co., Chicago. 5×8 in. 362 pages. $1.25, net.

The stories of Elisha are full of good homiletical material, and Dr. Dodds has made good use of it in an unquestioning belief that he is dealing throughout with matters strictly historical, unmixed with legend. For the moral difficulty in the prophet's encounter with the hoodlums, and the prompt execution of his curse upon them by the bears, this ingenious alleviation is offered: that the bears may not have killed any of them, but only clawed a few. This retribution, however, is represented as an act of God, in solemn warning to those who maltreat his messengers.

**Footsteps of the Flock (The): Scripture Studies for Every Sunday of the Year.** By G. H. Morrison, M.A. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. 5½×8¼ in. 388 pages.

The Biblical lessons collected in this volume were originally written for Scottish Sunday-school teachers. Under a selection for every Sunday morning and evening for the year are given four or five paragraphs of comment, each paragraph making a separate point in application of the lesson. Abstaining from all critical handling, Dr. Morrison takes the Scripture as it stands, and uses it simply for the moral and spiritual suggestions

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that he finds in it. In this way a connection with reality is made which, though generally firm, is sometimes faint.

**Fireside Saints.** By Douglas Jerrold. Illustrated. Edwin S. Gorham, New York. 4¼×6 in. 109 pages.

These Saints first appeared in the Punch Almanac for 1857, the creation of Douglas Jerrold's fancy. For the first time they are grouped in a tiny book, illustrated beautifully and sympathetically by Charles Robinson. Each month has its Fireside Saint who bakes Twelfth Night cakes or Shrove Tuesday pancakes, or presides in housewifely fashion over other simple duties.

**Girl and the Kaiser (The).** By Pauline Bradford Mackie. Illustrated. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 5×7½ in. 164 pages.

A pretty little book of slight importance. The author's attempt to represent the Emperor of Germany as the power behind a modern romance is not exactly successful. This vague and uncertain effect is carried out by the illustrations.

**God's Good Man.** By Marie Corelli. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 523 pages. $1.50.

There is more real human nature in Miss Corelli's egotistical Author's Note with which this book is prefaced than in all the five hundred odd pages of her "simple love story." It *is* a simple love story, too—nothing complex or modern about it, and it bears more points of resemblance than its length to the productions of other English lady-novelists of an earlier day and generation. These are the familiar types: the hero, the village parson—tall, broad-shouldered, already graying at the temples, but with a boyish laugh, and very popular with the children; the heroine, the lady of the manor, a tiny, vivacious, and beautiful blonde, who wears violet velvet riding-habits and other wonderful millinery (minutely described), and walks with an elastic grace which we are told is "a second nature to her." She finds him so different from her fashionable friends—so manly, etc., etc. He resolves her religious doubts and gives her good counsel and she loves him. He also loves her, but he will not speak—is too old, too unsuited to her, etc., etc. With slight deviation from these familiar lines the story is developed to its inevitable blissful conclusion, a hunting accident (she wore the violet velvet habit!) having forced a mutual declaration. In the course of this chronicle Miss Corelli makes and takes opportunity for characteristic slings and arrows directed against the worldly clergy who are not like God's Good Man, the sins and foibles of society, America and all things American, and other objects of her special animadversion. It would appear that such strenuous advocacy of reform might almost outrival her reputation as a novelist.

**Gospel and Human Life (The).** By Alfred Ainger, M.A., LL.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 349 pages. $2.

Though these sermons are emphatically ethical, they do not present merely "a gospel of good advice," to use Canon Ainger's own phrase, but rather a proclamation of that reconciliation out of which all sound character must grow. If there is one truth which stands out in strongest relief in these sermons, it is that men need not so much to be told to do right as to be enabled to be right: "Not lack of knowledge but paralysis of will is the universal malady." The message which comes in this volume from the late Master of the Temple is a summons, in clear, strong English, to "the renewing of the mind" by means of the power by which men in all ages have out of weakness been made strong. The view of the preacher's office expressed in the concluding sermon is well illustrated by the sermons that precede it.

**Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century.** By Sidney Lee. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 337 pages. $1.75, net.

*Reserved for later notice.*

**Hana: A Daughter of Japan.** By Gensai Murai. Illustrated. The Hochi Shimbun, Tokyo, Japan. 5½×8¾ in. 298 pages.

Quaintly and beautifully illustrated and bound in an original and typically Japanese fashion, this volume pleases the eye; and on reading, its attractiveness is found to extend to its contents as well as to its appearance. Considered merely as a novel, and judged by our standards of fiction, it is naïve, and, indeed, in plot almost infantile; but it throws light on Japanese modern ideas, its advancing civilization, its moral, social, and domestic principles, and the attitude of its people toward the present war, which furnishes the incidents of the story. Murai is a popular and voluminous Japanese author, who worked his way up from the humblest industrial efforts, first to journalism and later to authorship. He has strong and sane ideas of reform and progress, and all his work is pervaded by his advocacy of *kakugo*, which as defined by the writer of the preface to this book is much like the Roman "virtus" in meaning—indicating manliness, honor, persistency, calmness, and thoroughness. This book has been translated (and, with a few oddities excepted, very well translated) into English by a friend of Murai's, for the express purpose of letting English people know of the man and his work.

**Heart of Happy Hollow (The).** By Paul Laurence Dunbar. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 309 pages. $1.50.

True appreciation of the picturesque in negro character is evidenced in these sketches; the author does not appear to be handicapped by his nearness to his subject. Mr. Kemble's pictures are as good as the dialect.

**Heroes of the Storm.** By William D. O'Connor. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 281 pages. $1.50.

Here are true tales, thrilling as any fiction, of heroes who fight not to destroy but to save life; they battle with heavy seas and wind and rain and snow and ice, counting

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on no glory as reward, looking for no fame, doing their duty simply as servants of their country. The narratives are an official recital of facts. They were selected from the annual reports of W. D. O'Connor, for many years connected with the United States Life-Saving Service, and at the time of his death in 1889 Assistant General Superintendent.

**History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850.** By James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., Litt.D. Vol. V. 1864-1866. The Macmillan Co., New York. 6×8¾ in. 695 pages. $2.50.

Opening with Sherman's march to the sea and closing with the Congressional elections of 1866, Dr. Rhodes carries the student through three of the most critical years of our history, witnessing, as they did, the surrender at Appomattox, the assassination of President Lincoln, the beginning of the work of reconstruction, and the inception and widening of the breach between President Johnson and Congress. We see no reason to amend the wholly favorable opinion expressed in our extended comment on the preceding four volumes. The breadth of view, the careful sifting of evidence, the submergence of the partisan in the historian, and the profound scholarship that made of the earlier volumes a notable historical contribution, are again the prevailing characteristics. By his method of treatment and the conclusions to which it leads him, Dr. Rhodes constantly reminds us of his appreciation of the fundamental tenet of historical criticism, that all the right is never to be found on one side or all the wrong on the other. Approaching moot questions with an open mind, he displays no timidity in dealing with them, passing judgment with generosity or severity as the occasion and the testimony demand. At all times frank, he is never more so than in dealing with the social and political evils of the period. His study of the various reconstruction plans and suggestions and of the position of the different leaders of opinion on this important question is particularly painstaking. Beginning with Lincoln's last public speech, it continues to the adjournment of Congress, July 28, 1866. Dr. Rhodes's estimate of Lincoln may well be cited, not only for its own sake, but as instancing at once his method, temper, and graceful style:

> A historian, who for sixteen years has studied closely Lincoln's character and actions, who has reflected upon his speeches, his public and private letters, who has tried to know him as those did that saw him daily, feels in recording his death a poignant regret that he should have been taken away when his people still needed him and when his wisdom would have had full scope. His truthfulness, honesty, and self-abnegation make better men of the students of his words and deeds, and we all experience a moral uplifting in the contemplation of his character. The uncouthness and oddity of the man have gone with him to the grave; his speeches, state papers, letters, records of his conversation, and some of his stories remain. We see the best, but the man we see is not untrue to life. Indeed, the roughness of his manners was an incident so trivial that we forget it naturally without making an effort to ignore it. We can see into the very soul of Lincoln and know him as he knew himself. Let everything be told about him and we shall never respect him less, but shall always love him more.
>
> Lincoln's love of country hardly left room for love of self. Other rulers of great power have remorselessly crushed those who stood in their way. He said, "I am not in favor of crushing anybody out." It is sometimes thought that virtue in a man of action cannot coexist with great ability, and it is undeniable that much contemporary opinion of Lincoln ran: well-meaning, but weak; honest, but without force. When his death came, men recognized all the more his goodness, but then, too, they said he had been wise, a judgment which a later generation has confirmed. "The new pilot," as Emerson said, "was hurried to the helm in a tornado;" but after he had taken his bearings what a skillful pilot he made!

We await with high anticipation the volumes yet to come from Dr. Rhodes's pen.

**How to Master the English Bible.** By Rev. James M. Gray, D.D. The Winona Publishing Co., Chicago. 4½×6¾ in. 84 pages. 40c., net.

A brief for the principles of Higher Criticism by one who does not agree with the conclusions of modern scholars. In other words, a plea for acquaintance with the books of the Bible as wholes, instead of with verses and chapters and fragments.

**Illustrative Lesson Notes (The): A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1905.** By Robert Remington Doherty and Henry H. Meyer. Edited by J. G. McFarland. Eaton & Mains, New York. 5½×9 in. 403 pages. $1.25.

This is a well-planned and well-wrought series of helps for teachers and older students.

**In Camp at Bear Pond.** By Henry Edward Rood. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. 4½×7½ in. 263 pages. $1.25.

The story of two boys who camp out for a few weeks, and have several unusual adventures and make some interesting discoveries.

**Island Camp (The).** By Captain Ralph Bonehill. Illustrated. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 321 pages. $1.25.

A story in which several boys, under the guidance of an "old hunter," go on an outing in which they lay low big and small game. It has an artificial ring—does not read like a tale an old hunter would naturally tell.

**Italian Poets Since Dante (The): Accompanied by Verse Translations.** By William Everett. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×8 in. 251 pages. $1.50.

Reserved for later notice.

**Japan in Pictures.** By Douglas Sladen. Frederick Warne & Co., New York. 9½×7½ in. 159 pages. $1.25.

Some clever pictures of Japan have been gathered together and published in a small volume. The interesting text has to do with Japanese water-life, crops, flowers, temples, streets, and landscapes.

**Johnny Crow's Garden: A Picture Book.** Drawn by L. Leslie Brooke. Frederick Warne & Co., New York. 6¼×8½ in. 75 pages. $1.

**London as an Art City.** By Mrs. Steuart Erskine. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 4½×6½ in. $1, net.

A well-printed little volume, tastefully bound in flexible leather, presenting an account of

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the art treasures of all kinds in London, including churches, monuments, old buildings, public and private collections, with a chapter on the art of modern London.

**Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton.** In 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5×8¼ in. $4, net.

Reserved for later notice.

**Lyrics of Life and Love.** By William Stanley Braithwaite. Herbert B. Turner & Co., Boston. 4½×8 in. 80 pages. $1, net. (Postage, 8c.)

A slender volume of short poems by a writer new to the majority of readers. His work shows considerable skill in versification, sensitiveness to the poetic aspect of things, and some lyrical talent. It lacks robustness, and there is no suggestion in it of elemental power; it awakens the expectation that the writer will become a mellifluous rather than an original singer. It was a mistake to print his portrait in the book and to base the appeal for interest in his work on any other ground except its intrinsic quality. Its refinement of feeling and its lyrical fluency are well represented in three stanzas:

IF I COULD TOUCH

If I could touch your hand to-night
And hear you speak one little word,
I then might understand your flight
Up the star steps, unseen, unheard;

If through the mists of gold and gray
That tint the weary sunset skies,
There shone two stars across the bay
That thrilled me like your passionate eyes—

If only some small part of you
Would speak, or touch, or rise in sight,
Death would be then between us two
The passing of a summer's night.

**Missions and Modern History.** By Robert E. Speer. In 2 vols. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. $4, net.

The monographs comprised in these volumes deal with matters of recent history, either little known by most people, or not known in their real significance. Such subjects as the emancipation, both political and religious, of Latin America, the development of Africa, the transformation of Japan, the coming of the Slav, closely concern us. The connection of missions, antecedent or consequent, with such movements is reviewed by Mr. Speer in a luminous and instructive way. The transformations effected by the westward migrations of nations are matched by a transformation effected by eastward currents of a civilization that has been breathed upon by Christianity. While we see but the beginning of this, there is enough of it to justify Mr. Speer in regarding missions as one of the creative forces of the modern world.

**Morganatic.** By Max Nordau. Translated by Elizabeth Lee. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×7¾ in. 396 pages. $1.50.

The difficulties resulting from morganatic marriages, both in individual character and from political and social relations, are arrayed in dramatic detail in this novel. It is not surprising to find the powerful magician, who comes as near solving the problem as is possible, to be one of the American millionaires of lean visage and persistent temper so dear to foreign novelists of this day. The romance is skillfully handled, and dramatic situations are not few in this essentially modern tale.

**Napoleonic Studies.** By J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¼×8½ in. 398 pages. $2.50.

This volume of eight essays on Napoleonic themes is a valuable addition to the library of one especially interested in Napoleonic literature, but will hardly claim a wider circulation. They are largely given to the discussion of details interesting chiefly, if not exclusively, to Napoleonic scholars. Exceptions are the essays on "The Idealist Revolt Against Napoleon;" "The Religious Belief of Napoleon;" and "The Detention of Napoleon by Great Britain." The latter is in the nature of a reply to Lord Rosebery's interesting monograph on Napoleon in St. Helena. It is a somewhat labored defense of the British policy in general, and of Sir Hudson Lowe in particular. Most unprejudiced readers will, we think, believe that Lord Rosebery's view is the more impartial of the two. In his essay on "The Religious Belief of Napoleon" Mr. Rose makes it quite clear that the often-quoted paragraph attributed to Napoleon testifying to the divinity of Jesus Christ and the divine nature of Christianity is of doubtful authenticity. He was a man of moods, and doubtless he had moods when the Roman Catholic faith seemed to him a welcome refuge; he was neither a philosopher nor a man of conscience, and therefore theophilanthropy (or what we would call in our day the School for Ethical Culture) appealed to him neither on the philosophical nor the ethical side. But in the main religion was to him only an instrument useful in the accomplishment of his designs, and so far as he accepted Christianity at all, it was because this was a more useful political instrument than infidelity, and Roman Catholicism a more useful instrument than Protestantism. There is nothing in his life to indicate any real loyalty toward either the Christian Church or the Christian faith. "The Idealist Revolt" against Napoleon is a very interesting interpretation of that arousing of public opinion in Europe against him which was perhaps the ultimate cause of his downfall. It is interesting because it affords so striking an illustration of the power of an aroused public opinion even under the most adverse circumstances, and an exemplification of the truth of the aphorism that the pen is mightier than the sword.

**New Forces in Old China.** By Arthur Judson Brown. Illustrated. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. 382 pages. $1.50, net.

Dr. Brown's book describes the wonderful evolution which is taking place to-day in China, an evolution slower and more silent than that which placed Japan suddenly among the foremost nations of the world. Commercially, economically, politi-

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cally, and religiously, however, the Chinese evolution, far less pyrotechnic, is none the less as impressive and as significant. To the years of careful study which Dr. Brown has given to this subject he has added a long visit of inspection. As in his "New Era in the Philippines," so in the present volume he appeals at once to the student and to the "man in the street." The information conveyed is precise and as exact as possible, but it is conveyed in such an entertaining style that even a casual observer will be attracted. The Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions well understands, of course, in both of these books how to convey such knowledge as is absolutely essential—first of all to clergymen and to others who acquaint themselves with the religious conditions of the Philippines and of the eastern shore of the Pacific. This is, indeed, the prime merit of the volume; but, in our opinion, Dr. Brown is no less acute in considering the commercial forces, the economic revolution, the political powers, the national protest, the so-called yellow peril, and certain fresh reasons why the Chinese hates the foreigner.

**On the Trail of Pontiac.** By Edward Stratemeyer. Illustrated. (Colonial Series.) Lee & Shepard, Boston. 4½×7½ in. 311 pages. $1.25.

A combination of history and fiction for juvenile instruction and entertainment that can hardly fail of its purpose.

**Pedagogues and Parents.** By Ella Calista Wilson. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 290 pages. $1.25, net.

The clever author of this sensible treatise on education, writing as a parent, admits that many pedagogues are parents, but asserts that such are usually and almost surely pedagogues first and parents afterwards. Their works, while nourishing, are not, as a rule, appetizing to the mere parent. The highest ideals of child-culture can be attained only when the wisdom of the home and that of the school are harmoniously united. The protest heard so often in these days against the leveling up of ranks of children in our public schools, making them classes instead of individuals, is ardently presented by the author. With wit and due sentiment she examines the claims of educators and the results of methods. She urges upon parents the duty of humbly fitting themselves for their part, and says very truly that teachers are erudite and assured, while parents hold their breath and proceed cautiously, "following their children." While no new or startling theory is propounded—indeed, theories are quite in the background—yet a thorough reading of this book will bring pedagogue and parent nearer together, or perhaps we may be pardoned for intimating that it will cause the pliant parent to approach the often immovable pedagogue.

**Phases of Modern Music.** By Lawrence Gilman. Harper & Bros., New York. 4½×7 in. 166 pages. $1.25, net.

The title might as well have been "As Mr. Ernest Newman Says." If any one wants to know how seriously some admirers of programme music take themselves and their hero, Strauss, he needs only to read a little in this book. Music, if we are to believe this writer, is no longer to be the embodiment in form and sound of beauty (or "prettiness," as Mr. Gilman chooses to call it), but is to become (could a parodist do better?) "vivid psychologizing." The reader must not be surprised if he finds in this book much that sounds like the production of a press agent. Strauss, for instance, we are told, has "touched the margin of the sublime"!

**Parsifal: An English Text for the Score.** By George Turner Phelps. Richard G. Badger, Boston. 4½×7¼ in. 170 pages. 50c., net.

**Principles of Relief (The).** By Edward T. Devine, Ph.D., LL.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×8 in. 495 pages. $2, net.

Reserved for later notice.

**Prisoner of Mademoiselle (The).** By Charles G. D. Roberts. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 265 pages. $1.50, net.

This story of Acadia in Colonial days contains the usual elements of a historical novel, but they are combined with rather more than usual skill, and adorned with a decidedly unusual charm of style. Much of the action takes place in the forest, where Mr. Roberts is at his best in the depiction of the delights of nature and the wild life.

**Religion and the Higher Life: Talks to Students.** By William Rainey Harper. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 5×8 in. 184 pages. $1, net.

These "talks" are pretty solid addresses, some of them good for a half-hour of close attention. They represent an earnest attempt to meet religious needs which President Harper is convinced need to be better met in our universities and colleges. He insists that lack of the religious spirit is lack of human completeness. As a fact, this is far more certain than the prophecy that "America is to be the leader of the world's influence and thought during the next twenty centuries"—which we hope will be filed for criticism in 3904.

**Rubâiyát of Omar Khayyám.** Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Illustrated by Gilbert James. (Photogravure Series.) E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. 160 pages. $1.50.

**Ruby Ring (The).** By Mrs. Molesworth. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7½ in. 213 pages. $1.25.

A very simple story by one of the most charming writers for children of the present generation, relating the experiences of a very willful and selfish little girl, who learns in a series of somewhat novel adventures, effected by exchange of her condition, that happiness does not lie in circumstances. The thought is a familiar one, but is here presented in an attractive way for very young readers.

**Scientific Faith.** By Howard Agnew Johnston, Ph.D., D.D. The Winona Publishing Co., Chicago. 5×8 in. 289 pages. $1.50, net.

This volume will be helpful to some whose faith needs no great aid by science. Others

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more experienced in difficulty will consider that Dr. Johnston has underestimated their need. It is profitless nowadays to appeal to the harmonizers of Genesis and Geology forty years ago. It is even discouraging to a scientific mind to be addressed with this *a priori* argument for the deity of Christ: If a divine revelation be embodied in human life, such a teacher must be more than a man. Dr. Johnston argues that the credibility of the miraculous plagues of Egypt and of Elijah's fire-test is increased by appealing to the fact of miracle in the origination of life on this globe; as if a wonder within the evolutionary process could lend plausibility to wonders outside of it. The title of the book tends to detract from the solid merit that is in it, by a promise that is not equaled by performance. It is doubtful whether such a title is compatible with the nature of the subject. Science itself is not scientific except as entitled to the higher appellation of reasonable.

**Sin of David (The).** By Stephen Phillips. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 141 pages. $1.25, net.

Reviewed with other important books of the season in our Holiday Book Number last week.

**Stage.** (A Novelty Card Game.) The C. M. Clark Publishing Co., Boston. 50c.

**Star of Bethlehem (The): A Miracle Play of the Nativity.** Reconstructed from the Towneley and other Old English Cycles of the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries. Supplemented and Adapted to Modern Conditions by Charles Mills Gayley. Illustrated. Fox, Duffield & Co., New York. 5½×8¼ in. 70 pages. $1.

**Story of My Struggles (The): Memoirs of** Arminius Vambéry. In 2 vols. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. $5.

In the case of any quotation from Hungarian or Balkan or Oriental history or politics the name of Professor Vambéry has long been one to conjure with. It is a great gratification to those who have known this eminent authority at arms' length, so to speak, now to have the more intimate companionship afforded by these two delightful and instructive volumes. The career of Professor Vambéry has been a curious one, and will appeal to all who still cherish the love of the adventurous, for it has been a career of struggles within as well as without. But the value of the work is far higher than that of a traveler's tale describing Stambul and Samarkand, the long marches through the Steppes, the escapes from death in Khiva and Bokhara. We learn of Professor Vambéry's political career, his position in England, his intercourse with Abdul Hamid and with Nasreddin Shah. It is fortunate for the world that we have this intimate picture illuminating the geography, topography, history, ethnology, politics, and society of far-away lands.

**Tamate: The Life Story of James Chalmers.** By Richard Lovett, M.A. Illustrated. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 320 pages. $1.25, net.

This stirring book is exactly the kind of work to put into the hands of a stirring and lively boy. James Chalmers was a true hero, a brave man; but he was especially worthy of imitation because his aim in life was to do good to others. He became a great missionary, and his life tells the tale of many another laborer in foreign fields—a tale which can be told hardly too often.

**Thackeray in the United States, 1852-3, 1855-6.** By James Grant Wilson. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 6×9½ in. $10, net. (Postage, 55c. additional.)

Reserved for later notice.

**Thackeray's Complete Works.** Cornhill Edition, in 30 vols. With Biography and Introductions by William P. Trent and John Bell Henneman. Fully Illustrated. T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. $37.

A satisfactory and really complete edition, and at a very moderate price. The publishers claim that for the first time this edition establishes a definitive text of Thackeray, and point out that it contains the astonishing amount of 2,000 pages not in other editions. Of course much of this fugitive matter is trivial, ephemeral, and not really worth preservation. On the other hand, the personal letters are altogether charming and characteristic, and many readers will like to have them and other hitherto scattered odds and ends of Thackeray's anonymous and early work in volumes uniform with the great novels. The introductions are good reading and show critical judgment; and the biographical and bibliographical material is extensive and well presented.

**Theophani: The Crusade of the Tenth Century.** By Frederic Harrison. Harper & Bros., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 484 pages. $1.50.

We are not accustomed to think of that distinguished leader among English Positivists, Mr. Frederic Harrison, as a novelist, and we very much doubt whether "Theophani" will change us in this respect. The story—well printed and bound—is that of a tenth-century crusade. The subject-matter is interesting enough. We are glad to be informed about the conquests of Crete and Aleppo, but we wish that Mr. Harrison had taken less than four hundred and eighty pages for his narration. Indeed, the book seems downright padded. At times its style reminds one of a penny-a-liner, while neither plot nor characters stand out with sufficient distinctness. In these elements of success many a humbler writer could have given valuable hints to the erudite student of philosophy and religion and art and literature, to the friend of Ruskin and Spencer. However, when all is said, one must admit that the informative value of the romance is not altogether inconsiderable.

**Three Prisoners (The).** By William Henry Shelton. Illustrated. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 292 pages. $1.25.

An account of the adventures of a Northern tutor and his pupil, who, during the war of 1861–5, visit the latter's brother, a Federal officer, in camp. They witness a battle and are captured by Confederates. It reads like fact, which it claims to be, and is so free from sectional feeling that it will doubtless

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prove entertainment as acceptable to Southern as to Northern boys.

**United States of America (The).** By Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph.D. (The Story of the Nations.) In 2 vols. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×8 in. $1.35 per vol.

Dr. Sparks has consistently developed this historical survey along the lines laid down in the prefatory declaration of intention "to trace the gradual evolution of a confederated republic under the laws of necessity; to acknowledge that radical departures have been made from first ideals as a result of progress; to take into constant consideration the underlying forces of heredity and environment." Opening with a review of the organization and jurisdiction of the Continental Congress, he follows the growth of the spirit of nationality through the failure of the Confederacy, through the early Constitutional controversies, through nullification, and through secession. The view adopted by him is substantially that advanced by Professor Willoughby in his recent admirable monograph on "The American Constitutional System"—that, granting a contractual basis and the creation of a Confederacy at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, there came into being a national feeling that has gradually found realization both by declaration and in fact. The problems with which the National Government was obliged to cope, and the manner in which it vindicated its authority, necessarily form the greater part of the subject-matter of this exposition of the process whereby "the phrase 'the United States is' has been slowly and unconsciously evolved, in the process of time, from the early practice of saying 'the United States are.'" Dr. Sparks also endeavors to indicate the social, religious, economic, and literary development of the country. While we cannot always agree with the attitude he assumes, and especially in regard to certain pending problems, we have read his work, on the whole, with real satisfaction.

**Vicar of Wakefield (The).** By Oliver Goldsmith. Illustrated in Color. (The Series of English Idylls.) E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 242 pages. $2, net.

**What a Young Man Ought to Know.** By Sylvanus Stall, D.D. (New Revised Edition.) The Vir Publishing Co., Philadelphia. 4×6¾ in. 269 pages. $1, net.

A new edition of a well-prepared book, which gives knowledge on a subject concerning which ignorance is often tragical.

**With Kuroki in Manchuria.** By Frederick Palmer. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×8¼ in. 362 pages. $1.50, net.

Mr. Palmer is an old hand at campaigning in the East. His former experiences in China and the Philippines have stood him in good stead in Manchuria in the important journalistic art of "getting there." While some other correspondents have filled the air with complaints of their treatment by Japan and with tiresome *facetiæ* about their personal discomforts in the field, Mr. Palmer has shown that a good deal might be found to write about that was worth while by one who knew how to go about it. He was five months in the field, and dedicates his book to the Japanese infantry, "smiling, brave, and tireless," and to the "daring gunners who dragged their guns close to the enemy's line over night." From the first operations at the Yalu on through the attacks on Motien Pass, and thence on again to the battle of Liaoyang and the occupation of the village so called, Mr. Palmer followed Kuroki's army as closely as he was allowed, and (probably because he worked with and not against the officials in his professional labors) he was permitted to see many interesting and important things, though by no means all that was going on. While any book made up of war correspondence and published at this time must be desultory and not well jointed or carefully finished, it is to be noted that Mr. Palmer has a genius for picking out things that bring into relief all that is typical and characteristic in the Japanese as soldiers, all that distinguishes them from their Russian enemies. This is seen finely in the Motien Pass chapters, in which, in miniature so to speak, Japanese war methods of foresight, watchfulness, and minute planning are set out in contrast to the Russian soldier's doggedness, personal courage—and stupidity. The photographs by Mr. Hare are informative and picturesque.

**Wolverine (The).** By Albert Lathrop Lawrence. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 337 pages. $1.50.

This is one of the best of the novels recently published about life in Michigan just as the Territory was about to become a State. Intimate knowledge is shown of the history of the period and of prominent men; among them Governors Cass, Lucas, and Mason figure in the story. Mason, "*l'enfant Gouverneur*," the handsome and dashing young Executive, is one of the lovers in the cast. A fine touch in the book is that which shows how Catholics and Protestants find a bond in common humane and high purposes.

**Young Man in a Hurry and Other Short Stories (A).** By Robert W. Chambers. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7¾ in. 284 pages. $1.50.

A half-score of clever short stories on as many different themes—but usually with a gentleman of the young American clubman type in the center of the stage.

**Zelda Dameron.** By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 5×7½ in. 411 pages.

The struggle of a daughter to be loyal to an ignoble parent forms the basis of this novel. The author spoils an otherwise fine heroine by making her too eccentric and too rude. A note common to many books is apparent; the attitude toward lying seems to be that it is good or evil according to motive or end. In Ezra Dameron, pious miser, and Rodney Merriam, gentleman, the character-drawing is quite strong and clear.

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# Correspondence

*Letters addressed to the Editors of The Outlook, to receive any attention whatever, must in all cases be accompanied by the name and address of the writer. Names will not be published if a request to that effect is made by the writer, but no attention, either personal or editorial, can be paid to anonymous communications.*

### Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hearst

*To the Editors of The Outlook:*

I am glad to reply to the inquiry of your correspondent concerning my statement of Mr. Bryan's indorsement of Mr. Hearst's candidacy in his speech before the St. Louis Convention.

Your correspondent objects to my statement (and several personal letters to me take the same position) on the ground that Mr. Bryan did not nominate Mr. Hearst, but that he seconded the nomination of Senator Cockrell. I tried in my paper to use language which should be strictly applicable to the facts. I did not state that Mr. Bryan nominated Mr. Hearst, but that "he urged him upon the Convention as a fit man to be President of the United States."

My statement was based on the following extract from Mr. Bryan's speech, and seems to me a perfectly fair estimate of Mr. Bryan's words:

"Now, we have our platform. Select your candidate. If it is the choice or the wish of this Convention that the standard should be placed in the hands of the gentleman presented by California, the man who, though he has money, pleads the cause of the people; the man who is the best beloved, I think I can say, among laboring men; of all the candidates proposed, the one who, more than any other, represents opposition to the trust question—if you want to place the standard in his hands and make Hearst the candidate of this Convention, Nebraska will be with you in the fight."

HENRY S. PRITCHETT.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

### M. Brunetière and the Church

*To the Editors of The Outlook:*

I was surprised to read the following in your issue of November 5 under the title "Some Distinguished Visitors," and in connection with the sketch of Ferdinand Brunetière: "It may be suspected that, like a great many men of his intelligence, he accepts the Roman Catholic Church as a refuge from the materialism of the age and as a social necessity, driven to it by his logical belief in social solidarity, and ranging himself with the Church without fully accepting its dogmas."

M. Brunetière claims to be a Catholic with full knowledge of what that means; he has defended the Church by his able pen; he has not expressed dissent from any of her dogmas. On what evidence, then, does The Outlook base its suspicion? Is it fair to M. Brunetière? Are we not entitled to the evidence on which "it may be suspected" that M. Brunetière "announced his adherence to the Roman Catholic faith" (*ibid*) "without fully accepting its dogmas"?

The Catholic Church is not only Catholic and Apostolic, it is One. Her communicants must all accept the same creed and dogmas. He who qualifies his acceptance of her dogmas is not a Catholic.

Is it not an insult to M. Brunetière to express this suspicion? Is it not an affront to "the first French critic of the day," one who is "educationally a self-made man," "a professor of literature at one time in the École Normale and lecturer at the Sorbonne," a man who is "assertive and pugnacious," and who "has not yet passed out of the combative mood," "a scholar of great erudition in all the details and minutiæ of French literary history," one whose work "is characterized by extreme keenness of mind and by breadth of construction" and "embodies scientific accuracy and thoroughness"?

And, pray, which of the dogmas of the Catholic Church has this great man not fully accepted?

Would such a man claim membership in a Church which requires belief in a definitive creed and dogmas "without fully accepting its dogmas"?

Why not give him full credit for being a devoted, loyal, sincere son of Holy Mother Church?

Does The Outlook feel that a man of such intelligence cannot yield fullest acceptance to the dogmas of the Holy Roman Catholic Church; to the Church which truly civilized the world, which saved from destruction all that we have of ancient learning; to the Church of the saints, of the poets, of the artists, of the scientists; to the Church of the great and the lowly; to the Church of St. Louis, of Dante, of Michelangelo, of Pasteur; to the Church of a Newman, a Leo XIII., a Cardinal Gibbons?

And is it such a notion that has created this suspicion against M. Brunetière? The Church that sacrificed the friendship and membership of an adulterous Henry VIII. and his influence for the sake of principle has no room for any man, brilliant though he may be, who refuses to accept her teachings, given under the divine commission. If M. Brunetière is feigning in this matter of religious faith, the world should know it.

JOSEPH C. PELLETIER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

[The Outlook certainly intended neither an insult to M. Brunetière nor to the Roman Catholic Church. The age in which we live



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is one of great individualism of thought. There are few Republicans who in the last election accepted all the doctrines enunciated in the Republican platform, few Democrats who accepted all the doctrines enunciated in the Democratic platform. Similarly, in the Church there are many Christian men who do not accept without qualification all the dogmas of the branch of the Church to which they belong. We think it is rather a compliment to M. Brunetière to affirm that he possesses this independence of the twentieth century, and is willing, in spite of his dissent from some Roman Catholic dogmas, to identify himself with that Church, because he believes it to be the best defense of the age from the materialism of the age, and a compliment to the Roman Catholic Church to affirm that it is willing to receive into its communion adherents who do not accept all its dogmas, provided they become its honorable and loyal supporters.—THE EDITORS.]

### The Removal of Religious Symbols on French Public Buildings

*To the Editors of The Outlook:*

Will you kindly allow me to call your attention to a statement in your issue of November 12 in reference to the methods of M. Combes? You give as an instance of his aggressiveness "the removal of all signs and symbols of religion from public buildings on last Good Friday." Now, as to "all signs and symbols," I assure you that nothing of that sweeping character was done. In June I visited many common schools in the rural districts, and there found invariably the crucifixes. In my native village I counted seven. In the town of Marly, at the very gate of Paris, I still found a large Madonna over the entrance of the *gendarmerie*. The order which was really given was to remove the crucifixes from the court-houses. I can testify to the fact that if in some cases such an order was given on Good Friday, or if in some instances it was done on that day, it was merely incidental. The Government was obliged to accomplish this work during the spring recess of the courts, and for this reason some of it may have been ordered or executed on Good Friday; but in the measure there was no intention of hurting the religious feelings of the Catholics by choosing that particular day. *Rendez à César ce qui appartient à César.*

JEAN CHARLEMAGNE BRACQ.

### A Minor Correction

*To the Editors of The Outlook:*

Offering corrections in small matters is a notably ungracious habit. But a good story is no small mattter.

President Pritchett in his article on "The Moral Egotist" has robbed William Third of one of his best sayings and has paid it over to William the Norman. I refer to the story about the case of King's Evil—"God give thee better health and more sense." Macaulay relates the circumstance in his "England" toward the close of the fourteenth chapter. C. PERRY.

Garrison, New York.

### Panama: A Suggestion

*To the Editors of The Outlook:*

So many wise and scientific people are actively interested in the building of the Panama Canal that it seems almost ridiculous for one who is neither to make a suggestion. Nevertheless, I venture this: Why not begin at once planting along the proposed route the *eucalyptus globulus*, or "fever tree" (as it is called in Spain) as a natural antidote to miasmatic exhalations? As it grows very rapidly in warm climates, it might in a very few years become literally a "tree of life whose leaves are for the healing of the nations." But if such "healing" is to benefit the earlier workers in this great undertaking, the planting should not be needlessly delayed. T. S.

Waverly, New York.

### Distress in Macedonia

An urgent appeal for aid for a starving population in Macedonia, near Adrianople, comes from Dr. George D. Marsh, a missionary of the American Board, now burdened with work for their relief. The insurrectionary movements last year resulted in the utter devastation of the land. The fugitive inhabitants returning have no houses, no tools, no seed, no food. No crops can be had till next summer. Dr. Marsh is endeavoring to help these unfortunates to help themselves as far as possible, but many must perish in spite of efforts to save them. Donations may be sent to the treasurer of the Board, Mr. F. H. Wiggin, 14 Beacon Street, Boston.

### A Correction

In The Outlook for November 26 the Spectator rechristened the well-known Massachusetts naturalist, Mr. Ernest Harold Baynes, with the name of Edward Howard. Whatever may be the philosophical differences of opinion on the rights of man and the consent of the governed, there can be no question but that every individual is entitled at least to his own name, and warranted in resenting such a liberty as the types took in speaking of Mr. Baynes. The editors, the chief proof-reader, and the compositors of The Outlook are rather pleased at the mistake than otherwise, because it enables them at least to point with pride to one instance for which they are not responsible. The mistake was the Spectator's own—the Spectator, who knows Mr. Baynes and has talked with him. There the misnomer stands clearly printed on the Spectator's own typewriter. It can only be said in defense of the Spectator that he wrote his interesting account of Mr. Baynes and his animals in August, and ascribes the error to the brain-twisting influence of a cloudless August sun.

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